SARUGAKU, DENGAKU AND KUSEMAI IN THE CREATION OF NŌ DRAMA, 1300-1450.

by

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Nō plays were given in several different types of entertainment, of which the most important were Sarugaku and Dengaku. The basis of Nō drama as it is known today was established by two Sarugaku players, Kanze Kan-ami Kiyotsugu (1333-1384) and his son Zeami Motokiyo (1363-1443), and their most important innovation was the absorption into Sarugaku of the music and songs of Kusemai, one of the many minor entertainment forms of the period.

The following pages give an account of the parts played by these three entertainments in the development of Nō by describing various aspects of Sarugaku and Dengaku and, after establishing the original form of independent Kusemai songs, by showing the effect these had on the music and texts of Sarugaku Nō. The sources used in this were the articles on Nō written by Zeami and his son Motoyoshi supplemented, wherever possible, by other contemporary material.

The object of the thesis is twofold: to give a coherent account, for its own sake, of the most interesting and important period in the history of Nō; and, by so doing, to provide a background against which other related subjects, such as Zeami's artistic theories, may legitimately be considered.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

CBG	Chūsei bungei no genryū, by Nagashima Fukutarō.
'EH'	'Emmai-za hōshiki', by Komparu Zenchiku.
IOS	Ihon ōkyoku sakusha (cntd. in NG 1331-7).
JD	Jika denshō (cntd. in NG 1337-44).
KHK	Komparu Hachizaemon kaki-age (cntd. in NG 1326).
KJ	Komparu jūshichibushū, by Nonomura Kaizō.
KS	Kokayō sakusha-kō (cntd. in NG 1331-7).
KTK	Kanze Tayū kaki-age (cntd. in NG 1325-6).
NG	Nōgaku genryū-kō, by Nose Asaji.
NGZ	Nihon gekijō zushi, by Takeuchi Yoshitarō.
NK	Nōgakushi kenkyū, by Kobayashi Shizuo.
NS	Nōgaku shiryō, by Kobayashi Shizuo.
NSC	Nō-hon sakusha chūmon (cntd. in NG 1328-31).
NUM	Nihyakujū-ban utai mokuroku (cntd. in NG 1326-8).
'SD'	'Sarugaku dangi', by Kanze Motoyoshi.
TZN	(Tōchū) Zeami nijūsambushū, by Kawase Kazuma.
YSK	Yōkyoku sakusha no kenkyū, by Kobayashi Shizuo.
ZJH	Zeami jūrokubushū hyōshaku, by Nose Asaji.

Note:- The term Writings has also been used in both text and notes to indicate the articles written by, or connected with, Zeami and contained in Kawase's (Tōchū) Zeami nijūsambushū. For convenience, page references have generally been given only for this single-volume work, but comparison with the appropriate parts of Nose's two-volume Zeami jūrokubushū hyōshaku is assumed throughout.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction: Relevant Song, Dance And Drama Forms Before 1300.

The word Nō as it is now used is an abbreviation of Sarugaku Nō and signifies a performance of Nō plays, songs and dances by Sarugaku players. In the Kamakura (1192-1336) and Muromachi (1337-1602) periods, performances of Nō were given in several different types of entertainment and it was usual, therefore, to distinguish them by describing them as Ennen Nō, Dengaku Nō etc. But, during the Muromachi period, the Nō performed by Sarugaku groups achieved such overwhelming superiority and popularity that its rival forms gradually disappeared and it became less and less necessary to specify Nō performances as those of Sarugaku. Although important modifications have gradually occurred both to the music and to the style of performance since the fifteenth century, Nō was given what was, in all essentials, the form in which we know it today by two Sarugaku players, usually known as Kan-ami and Zeami, who may conveniently be regarded as having worked in the hundred years from 1350 to 1450. Both were of outstanding ability in all branches of Nō, with Kan-ami perhaps the more creative of the two and Zeami ideally equipped for the task of improving and refining his father's work and systematizing the whole artistic theory of the art. Great as they were, however, it would have been impossible for them to bring Nō to its place

as the first great peak of Japanese drama if they had not had adequate material with which to work. Even by the time of Kan-ami the Nō play had reached such an advanced stage of development that, clearly, it was itself based on earlier, more or less dramatic presentations.

For an adequate account of these it is necessary to go back briefly to at least the Nara period (710-793), when various entertainments brought into Japan from the mainland were flourishing together. The period of two hundred years or so from the time of Prince Shōtoku (572-621) was one of enthusiastic adoption of many aspects of continental culture, prominent among which were music and dancing. Musicians and some dances are known to have come from Korea as early as the fifth century and, by the eighth, the three main forms of foreign entertainment, Gigaku, Bugaku, and Sarugaku, were well established in Japan and enjoying great popularity among all classes. All three were patronised by the Court and all had been given official recognition by the establishment, under the authority of the Imperial Department of Music, of special schools known as gaku-ko, 'music houses', which taught one or other of the entertainments and supplied players when required.

Gigaku is said to have been brought over to Japan in 612 by a man called Mimashi, a native of Kudara in the Korean peninsula. The question of where Gigaku first arose is still

unsettled: the large number of masks which survive bear witness to exotic elements other than Chinese, but such alternative names for Gigaku as Kure no Gaku and Kure no Uta-mai indicate that, in Japan at least, it was associated particularly with the state of Wu in central China. Gigaku no longer exists and what little is known about it comes in the main from the Kyōkunshō, a work on music which was completed in 1233. It appears to have consisted of nine or ten items and to have begun with a procession to the music of flutes, drums and cymbals. The main part of the entertainment consisted of masked players performing dances and farcical pantomime pieces, some of which satirised religious personages in a crude or, by present-day standards, obscene way. It was, nevertheless, regularly given among the entertainments which formed part of, or followed, ceremonies at Buddhist temples. In the year 752, for example, it formed part of the great celebrations held at the dedication of the Daibutsu at the Tōdai-ji in Nara. More than sixty Gigaku players appeared on that occasion, but less than sixty years later there were only two attached to the Department of Music. This rapid decline, doubtless due in large measure to a preference for Bugaku and Sarugaku which had also formed part of the Daibutsu entertainments, has resulted in more than two hundred and twenty masks being safely preserved in the Shōsōin, the Hōryū-ji and the Tōdai-ji; but it has also meant that there is very little material from which to gain an idea of what Gigaku was like. Judged from

their names, some of the Gigaku items may have had connections with dances found in Bugaku and, although it is not possible to produce documentary proof of Gigaku having exerted a direct influence on Sarugaku, such a relationship seems not unlikely. There are similarities in the masks used in Gigaku and later Sarugaku and, in the Heian period (792-1191), Sarugaku is found with the same sort of comic play as was described above. One thing directly traceable to Gigaku is the Shishi-mai or 'lion dance'. This has flourished in Japan ever since and is still to be seen in Nō plays and Kabuki, as well as at shrine festivals and in the performances of street-entertainers. Were it not for this, Gigaku would have disappeared without leaving any clear trace.

Bugaku, on the other hand, is still performad to-day. The name is now used to mean any dance performed to classical Court music (Gagaku) and it therefore includes pure Japanese dances such as the Yamato-mai, Kume-mai and Azuma-asobi. The main body of Bugaku dances, however, derives from areas covering the whole stretch of the mainland of Asia, from Korea to India. The diversity of origin, which seems to have been ignored in the treatment of items in Gigaku, was recognised in Bugaku. Even now, the dances are divided into two general categories, the Dances of the Right, which are those deriving from Korea, and the Dances of the Left, which are those originating in China, S.E.Asia or India. In the Nara and early Heian periods still

narrower distinctions were made. Those dances, for example, which came from the three Korean states of Shiragi, Kudara and Kōrai in the fifth and sixth centuries were distinguished one from another; and it was only during the Heian period, after dances from the small state of Bokkai in modern Manchuria had also been adopted, that the term Kōrai-gaku (or Koma-gaku) was applied to all four groups of dances from that area. There were, in addition, the dances of Tora-gaku which arrived in Japan during the early part of the eighth century, perhaps from India via S.E.Asia; the dances of Rin-yū-gaku, which are said to have been brought over from Annam in 736 by two Buddhist priests, one Indian and the other Annamese; and the dances of T'ang China, known as Tō-gaku, whose adoption went on during the whole of the eighth century. Tora-gaku has disappeared entirely, however, and the dances that remain have not been preserved unchanged. Since considerable modifications were made to imported pieces and entirely new pieces were composed, Bugaku as it is known today must be regarded as very largely Japanese in character.

The dances are generally symbolic representations of just one part, the most interesting part, of a whole story. Knowing the story, the watcher can see in the dance a meaning which would otherwise escape him. There were close connections in the Nara period between these dances, Sarugaku and Gigaku, which was itself a type of Bugaku, and in Nara, the home of the present schools of Nō, Bugaku has been performed side by side

with Sarugaku ever since. Its influence on Sarugaku may, therefore have been more profound than obvious. There are two things in Nō, however, which may be pointed out with some certainty as being due to such an influence. One is the dance called gaku. This was based directly on the style of Bugaku and when it occurs in the Nō play Tsurukame, for example, it is described as such in the text. The other is the theory of Nō play construction known as jo-ha-kyū, roughly equivalent to 'introduction, development and climax'. Bugaku dances were based on this principle and at some time - exactly when is not known, but it was before the time of Zeami - it was adopted for use in Nō.

Sarugaku, or Sangaku as it was called until about the middle of the Heian period, was brought to Japan in the eighth century from China where it had had a long history following its rise in Central Asia. The term seems to have been a general name for all manner of popular entertainments in contrast to the aristocratic Gagaku. It was enjoyed by all ranks, from members of the Imperial Court downwards, and was encouraged by the establishment of official schools. There were three main elements in early Sarugaku: amusing songs and dances; acrobatics and tumbling; and juggling, conjuring, and magic. Native Japanese entertainments, especially in the form of songs and dances, were added to those imported from the continent, and the old Japanese name for these, waza-ogi, gradually dropped out of use as the things it had signified came to be included in the term

Sarugaku. Peformances were given as additional entertainment on such Court occasions as the yearly Sumō festival, and after religious festivals and the like where the common people also attended. In the year 782 the schools which had been set up to teach Sargaku were abolished. As a result of this, a few of those who had belonged to the schools continued with official status as before by becoming junior officials in the Imperial Department of Music and the remainder became free men. But the latter found that, as free men, they were subject to taxation and labour service, and to avoid this imposition many of them either became attached to one or other of the great temples or shaved their heads and became a kind of lay priest. As they continued to earn their living by playing Sargaku, these men were known as 'Sarugaku hōshi', Sarugaku priests. Thus, in the Heian period, the division into aristocratic and popular Sargaku becomes clearly matked but, as is usually the case in the development of drama, it was the activity among the common people that brought the next step forward. This seems to have been the introduction of simple comic plays into Sarugaku. Two or three works written during the second half of the eleventh century list various items of entertainment which came under the general name of Sarugaku. These include:

Dengaku, which will be mentioned below;

Puppets;

Juggling with balls and knives;

Tricks with a diabolo;

Walking on a type of stilt consisting of a single with a crosspiece on which the performer stood;

Tight-rope walking;

and the names of a number of humorous pieces such as

'The Tricks of A Lad From The Capital';

'A Man From The East Makes His First Visit To The Capital';

'The Holy Man Fuku-kō Searches For His Stole'; and

'The Nun Myōkō Seeks Baby's Swaddling Clothes'.

Unfortunately, there is no description of the plays themselves and we are left with only the names from which to gain some idea of their content. The last two titles mentioned are taken to imply a distinctly Bocaccian view of the morals of the clergy of the time, but of rather more interest from the point of view of Japanese drama are the plays about people from the provinces going up to the capital and the activities of the inhabitants there. The country bumpkin on his first visit to the town and the sharp characters there who trick him are still stock figures in Kyōgen, and it is these comedies which preserved the comic element characteristic of early Sarugaku when that entertainment turnes its attention to the serious pursuit of Nō. Some of these humorous plays, simple as they doubtless were, obviously required two or more actors and they may therefore have had, by the interplay between these actors, some degree of dramatic content. It is unlikely, however, that much thought was given

at the time to the form of presentation as such. The aim was merely to amuse, and this would be done sometimes by two or more actors appearing together in a more or less dramatic form and sometimes by a single person doing comic miming.

Meanwhile, there had been an interesting development in the Sarugaku of the temples, Just as in England in the fourteenth century miracle plays were given to illustrate parts of the biblical story so that these would be understood and remembered by the simple people, so in Japan a similar thing happened when temple priests known as Shushi, who carried out esoteric rites at such ceremonies as the Shushōe in the first moon and the Shūnigatsue in the second, tried to make the significance of the rites clear to the onlooker by means of simple performances which included songs and dances. If, for example, spells designed to drive away devils had been recited, a piece might later be performed showing such evil figures being overcome by priests armed with the teachings of the Buddha. Gradually the name Shushi Sarugaku begins to appear in connection with these performances because, in time, the priests passed the task of giving the plays to the professional Sarugaku players who had joined the temples after the dissolution of the official schools. Being given at ceremonies held to ensure the welfare of the country and the success of the crops, and depicting Buddhist teachings and legends, the performances were, unlike popular Sarugaku, serious in intent. The players were dressed in magnificent robes, as befitted the importance of the ceremonies

in which they took part, and their performances included songs and dances given to the accompaniment of drums, bells and flutes. As the pieces became more and more of an attraction they were imitated by the players of ordinary secular Sarugaku, who were always looking for ways to increase their popularity. Thus, they came to be given at times other than at Buddhist festivals and the didactic element grew less and less. An example of the close connection between Shushi and Sarugaku is still to be seen today in the Takigi Nō given yearly in March at the Kasuga shrine. In this, the set of songs and dances known as Okina, which has by no means lost its religious significance even today, is still called 'Shushi Okina ' as it was when the performances formed part of the Shunigatsue ceremonies of the nearby Kōfuku-ji temple, although it is now performed by Sarugaku or, as they are now called, Nō players.

Pieces based on those in Shushi Sarugaku were also used in Ennen which, from the twelfth century on into the fifteenth, was the general name for the various types of performance given in Buddhist temples after festivals and ceremonies and during visits by important guests. Ennen declined because the temple authorities came to prefer to employ professional Sarugaku and Dengaku groups on such occasions, but it did not do so before making a tremendous contribution to the development of Nō. In order to widen the scope of these temple entertainments all kinds of popular songs and dances such as rōei and rambyōshi

were given, as well as classical ones such as those of Bugaku. These various songs and dances were not performed independently one after the other, however, and it is this point which gives Ennen its importance. There was a conscious attempt to bring some degree of unity into the performance by fitting the songs and dances into integrated pieces. In the types of Ennen known as Dai-furyū and Shō-furyū, for example, the performers would use a passage of dialogue which established some particular setting for the piece as an introduction for the main items of, respectively, a Bugaku dance and a popularised form of such a dance. Another important type of Ennen called Tsurane went a stage further and fitted popular songs and dances into pieces which had spoken passages both before and after the main items. The performers were sometimes ten or more in number and the temples, being wealthier than most organizers of similar performances, were not only able to dress them as characters mentioned in the texts but were also able to provide them with splendid and, sometimes, lavish properties.

Among the miscellaneous entertainments mentioned above as having been contained in the Sarugaku of the Heian period was one called Dengaku. Originally Dengaku, or the earlier Japanese name Ta-mai, meant the songs and dances given by country people to relieve the drudgery of work in the fields at planting time and, by entertaining the gods, to ensure their help in raising good crops. These songs and dances were taken into early

Sarugaku for their entertainment value alone, and their popularity spread beyond the countryside, much as in modern times Negro spirituals have become far removed from their original setting. The Sarugaku players who performed these rustic songs and dances became pseudo-priests like the others but were known as Dengaku hōshi. Thus, in the Heian period there were two types of Dengaku: the pure form as given by the peasants in the villages, and that given by the Dengaku hōshi. Remnants of the first type, the truly agricultural Dengaku, are still to be found in many parts of Japan today but, while some of them preserve very ancient forms, all have inevitably undergone some degree of change in the course of time. One of the causes of this was the Dengaku hōshi themselves. Since they were professional players their performances were more skilled than those of the farmers, and this led in many cases to their being employed from time to time to play Dengaku at village ceremonies instead of the villagers doing it themselves. Their performance was constantly developing, and innovations in the form of instruments, costumes or content were often adopted by the villagers as part of their own entertainments.

Towards the end of the Heian period Dengaku became an independent form distinct from the Sarugaku of which it had formed a part. It took with it many of the tricks such as juggling, pole-riding and acrobatics which had also formed part of Sarugaku, and these became the traditional Dengaku entertain-

ments. Since about the beginning of the Tokugawa period(1603 - 1868) this line of 'non-rustic' Dengaku has all but disappeared, only remnants surviving in Nara and one or two other places. From early times the various types of performers had of necessity worked in groups, but a continual increase in the number of these groups, combined with the limited number of shrine and temple ceremonies at which profitable performances could be given, led to ever fiercer competition. The difficulty was eventually solved by the establishment of groups or guilds known as za. These za were attached in nearly all cases to a powerful shrine or temple which granted the group the monopoly of performances within the area under its control. In return, performances were given without payment at certain of the local religious festivals. Records show that Dengaku za were in existence by the middle of the twelfth century in Shirakawa, just east of Kyōto, and in Nara. These were known as the Honza, the 'Original Group', and the Shinza, the 'New Group', respectively. In time many shrines and temples came to maintain their own groups, but the Honza and Shinza remained the best known and the most important.

The establishment of Sarugaku za appears to have taken place rather later than in the case of Dengaku. The reason for this was probably that it was only after the decline of Shushi, or temple, Sarugaku in the early Kamakura period that there was any opportunity for independent Sarugaku groups to win patronage of temples. In the Bun-ei period (1264-1274)

there are mentions of a Honza in Tamba, and a Shinza and a Hōshō-ji group in Settsu province. Before long a number of other groups were established in other provinces, including some in Yamato which were to outlive all others and continue to the present day.

The change in the status of Dengaku and Sarugaku groups was matched by a notable development in their performance. This was the emergence of Nō. Nō is best considered as a serious entertainment form containing three main elements - those of mimicry, song and dance. All three of these were to be found separately in the Sarugaku of the Heian period and the later part of that period, the twelfth century, saw a tremendous vogue among all classes for popular songs such as imayō and for dances such as those of the Shirabyōshi. Sarugaku and other comparable forms continually enriched themselves by adopting such songs and dances and by modifying them to suit their own requirements. But mimicry, and any incidental dramatic element which arose from it, was kept apart from song and dance until the Kamakura period when the three combined into one form to produce Nō. As this combination was a gradual process and existing records are in any case far from complete, it is impossible to give an exact date for the beginning of Nō, but a document describing a piece played in Ennen after a ceremony at the Kōfuku-ji shows that a form containing these three elements was in existence by the middle of the thirteenth century.

Thus, by the end of that century, Dengaku and Sarugaku, the most important entertainment forms of the day, were developing side by side with each other and with the Ennen and the declining Shushi of the temples. All were, too, in close contact with a host of lesser song and dance forms ranging from the classical Bugaku dances to the chanting of war tales by blind beggars. The following pages attempt to show something of Sarugaku and Dengaku as they existed during the next crucial century and a half, and to explain how they were vitally affected by one of these popular song and dance forms called Kusemai which, though unimportant in itself, was unrivalled in the effect it had on the development of Nō.

CHAPTER II.

(1) The Groups and Their Organization.

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By the end of the Kamakura period (1192-1136), professional Dengaku and Sarugaku groups existed in many parts of Japan. References to groups of players in outlying parts are still to be found (1), but most of the extant written records of the time deal with affairs in the provinces around Kyōto and Nara and it is therefore about groups in this area that most is known.

It has already been mentioned that in the Heian period (794-1191) when professional groups were formed, Dengaku players were to be found in a number of places in these home provinces. Some temples in this area kept resident Dengaku players even into the fourteenth century. The Hōryū-ji, at Nara, for example, employed Sarugaku players for the ceremonies held during the sixth moon only from 1320, when the trips into other provinces that its Dengaku players had come to make during the summer months made them unavailable (2). But, from the fourteenth century onwards, Dengaku in this part of Japan was represented almost exclusively by two famous groups. These were the Honza from Shirakawa in Kyōto, and the Shinza, from Nara. (3)

Professional Sarugaku groups, which began to be established during the Kamakura period, were much more numerous. Some of the more important are listed by Zeami in the earliest

of the articles which he wrote, the 'Kadensho'[4]:

'The four Sarugaku groups attending the ceremonies
to the gods at Kasuga in Yamato province:
Tobi, Yūsaki, Sakato, Emman-i.
The three Sarugaku groups attending the ceremonies
to the gods at Hie in Ōmi province:
Yamashina, Shimosaka, Hie.
Ise: two Shushi groups.
The three Sarugaku groups serving at the New Year masses
at the Hōshō-ji:
Shinza (Enami; resident in Kawachi[5]), Honza
(Yata; Tamba), Hōshō-ji (Shuku; Settsu).
These three groups also attended the ceremonies
to the gods at Kamo and Sumiyoshi.'

There were many other groups of varying importance, some of them in provinces not included in the above list and others in the areas mentioned there. The Kō, Morigiku, Fujimatsu and Umematsu groups flourished in Uji[6], for example, and Tamba had, in addition to the Honza, such groups as the Umewaka, Tamba Hie and Dai-hōshi[7]. But the most important Sarugaku groups were the main ones in Ōmi and Yamato provinces.

'In Ōmi/Sarugaku/the Mimaji group has the longest history. In the case of Yamashina, a samurai of low rank living in the place of that name, married the daughter of Mimaji and, becoming interested in Sarugaku, went into the

shrine at Yamashina and prayed to the god, the god of Kasuga, for guidance as to the course to take. A raven then dropped something above the hall of the shrine and, when he saw that it was an Okina mask, he became a Sarugaku player without more ado. He kept his eldest son at Yamashina, put the second at Shimosaka and the third at Hie. From them stemmed three groups. Since Yamashina is the senior one, however, this group alone plays Okina at the religious ceremonies given at Hie from the first to the seventh day of the year. The mask used is the aforementioned one..... (Mimaji, Ōmori, Sakōdo: the Lower Three Groups).'[8] This quotation from the 'Sarugaku dangi', a work complied by Zeami's son Motoyoshi in 1430, shows that, of the six main groups in Ōmi , three were together known as the Lower Three Groups (shimo sanza) and the others, presumably, as the Upper Three Groups (kami sanza). These names were not indicative of any distinction in importance or seniority but arose, as Nose has shown[9], from the geographical positions of the places from which the groups originated, 'upper' referring to the northern part of Ōmi province and 'lower' to the southern[10]. According to tradition, Ōmi Sarugaku could boast a history second only to that of Yamato Sarugaku. It was said to derive from one Ki no Kami[11], who lived in the time of the emperor Murakami (reigned 947-967) and is described as the brother-in-law of Hata no Ujiyasu[12], a historical figure known to have been a palace official specializing in music.

It was from an ancestor of Ujiyasu that Yamato Sarugaku, in the form of the Emman'i or Komparu group, claimed descent[13]. He was called Hata no Kōkatsu and seems to have lived in the second half of the sixth century. The 'Kadensho'[14] gives the following account of his appearance in Japan:

'In Japan, when the river Hatsuse was in flood in the time of the emperor Kimmei, a pot floated down from the upper reaches of the river. A court official picked it up near the cedar torii at Miwa. Inside it was a child, sweet-faced and gem-like. As the child had come down from heaven, the official reported the matter to the Court. That night, the emperor had a dream in which the child said to him, "I am the reincarnation of the emperor Shih Huang of the great land of Ch'in. Having an affinity with Japan, I now reveal myself here." Struck with wonderment at this, the emperor summoned the child to the palace. As he grew up, his wisdom and ability became outstanding so that, when he was in his fifteenth year, he attained the rank of Minister and had bestowed on him the family name of Shin. Since the character for 'Shin' is the one for 'Hata', it is he who is known as Hata no Kōkatsu.' Zeami goes on to describe how Prince Shōtoku had Kōkatsu perform sixty-six pieces of miming, which were the beginning of Sarugaku, and how these were later passed on to Hata no Ujiyasu. He then says, 'From Hata no Ujiyasu to Mitsutarō Komparu[15] stretches a long line of twenty-nine generations. This is the Emman-i group of Yamato province.'[16]

Although the accuracy of most of the points in this traditional account of the origin of the Emman-i group is very doubtful[17], it is clear that the group was the oldest of thmse in Yamato and that it already had a long history in the time of Zeami. It is infact to be found described, at least in its own records, as the 'Original Group' (Honza) in contrast to the other three main Yamato groups[18]. More commonly, it was called Emman-i, then Takeda and, finally, Komparu, the name by which it is still known at the present day[19]. Although there is some uncertainty about how the name Emman-i (or such variant forms as Emmai, Emman-in and Emman-ji) arose, it seems likely that it was a corrupt form of the name of a temple called the Emman-ji or Emman-in which was located near the Yakushi-ji not far from Nara and to which the Sarugaku group was probably at one time attached. The name Takeda was not used very extensively. It is given as the name of a group in the 'Sarugaku dangi'[20] and, in the 'Emmai-za hōshiki', a record of the Komparu house, it is prefixed to the name of Bishaō Gon-no-kami. Presumably, therefore, Bishaō was the head of a group that was sometimes known by the name of the place where it was located at the time, an assumption which is borne out by evidence that a place of that name in Yamato once had connections with Sarugaku and has near it a temple called the Shingaku-ji which, from its name, was clearly associated with the musical Hata family. The traditional name Emman-i or Emmai, however, continued to be used of the group until, well into the

fifteenth century, it gradually gave way to the name Komparu. This has been found as the name of individual players in records written as early as 1385, and the account of the succession to the headship of the group given in an appendix to the 'Emmai-za hōshiki'[21] is quoted by Japanese writers to explain how it came to be applied to the group as a whole. According to the usual interpretation of the passage[22], Bishaō Gon-no-kami had three sons, the eldest of whom was Mitsutarō, the second Sentoku, and the youngest Komparu Gon-no-kami; the succession passed from Mitsutarō to his son Bishaō Jirō, but then went from him to the son of the youngest brother, that is, to Komparu Gon-no-kami's son Komparu Yasaburō. On the face of it, this account should be reliable but, in fact, the interpretation of the passage in Japanese is by no means as straightforward as might be thought. In the first place, the description of Bishaō Gon-no-kami as of the twenty-sixth generation and of Yasaburō as of the twenty-seventh generation ignores the headships of Mitsutarō and Bishaō Jirō[23]. These figures are also at variance with the 'Kadensho' statement that Mitsutarō was of the twenty-ninth generation. Furthermore, the account does not explain how Mitsutarō could have come to be called Mitsutarō Komparu, as he is in the 'Kadensho'. Kawase gives a different genealogy[24], which he presumably derives from a different interpretation of the passage in question. He regards Bishaō Gon-no-kami and Mitsutarō as one and the same person, and his three sons as Bishaō Jirō, Sentoku, and

Komparu Gon-no-kami. There seems to be no good reason why the text should not be taken to refer to a player named Bishaō Gon-no-kami Mitsutarō[25], but there must be some doubt about taking the following 'second son, Sentoku; third son, Komparu Gon-no-kami' to mean that they were the sons of Mitsutarō. If this were so, it would follow that, when Mitsutarō passed the leadership of the house over to Yasaburō, he was handing it over to his grandson. It is unlikely that a grandchild would have reached an age at which he could be given this responsibility during the lifetime of Mitsutarō, and the solution may be that, when Komparu Zenchiku wrote the 'Emmai-za hōshiki', he had Mitsutarō himself in mind as the eldest son so that, in going on to give the names of the younger brothers, he described them as the second and third sons. On this basis, Bishaō Gon-no-kami Mitsutarō, Sentoku, and Komparu Gon-no-kami were brothers, and Mitsutarō, the twenty-sixth head, was succeeded by his nephew, Komparu Yasaburō[26]. Whatever the true explanation of this problem of the succession to the leadership of the house and the origin of the name Komparu may be, however, it does appear that a Sarugaku group located at Takeda in Yamato and claiming a long descent from a line of the Hata family was connected with the Emman-ji; and that, probably through the local Shingaku-ji, which was a subsidiary of the great Kōfuku-ji, it was then connected with that temple and its associated shrine of Kasuga on a more permanent basis.

The 'Sarugaku dangi' account[27] of the origins of

the schools of Yamato Sarugaku states, 'In Yamato, there was much interchange between the Takeda za, Deai za,[28] and Hōshō za. Takeda has masks and the like from the founder Kōkatsu which have been handed down for many generations. The Deai za was formerly Yamada Sarugaku. The son of one Suginomoto[29] of Hattori in Iga province (the Taira family) was adopted by a man called Ōta-no-naka and had a natural,son by a woman in the capital. This child was adopted by Yamada Ko-mino Tayū and himself had three children: Hōshō Tayū (eldest), Ki-ichi (middle), and Kanze (youngest) were the three offspring of this man. This Tayū of Yamada[30] met an early death.'

This makes it clear that the father of Kan-ami and his brothers was adopted by the head of a Sarugaku group in a place called Yamada and that their grandfather had been born in the village of Hattori in Iga province. The key to any more detailed account of the early life of the three brothers is the location of the village of Yamada. Unfortunately, there is some evidence to suggest that it was in Yamato and some that it was in Iga, and in neither case is it conclusive. Its location in Yamato[31] is indicated first of all by the fact that no province is specified when Yamada is mentioned in the 'Sarugaku dangi'. Place-names are often preceded in the Writings by a reference to a particular province[32] and, since the Kanze school must have been established in Yamato for more than sixty years when the 'Sarugaku dangi' was compiled, the absence of any such mention is

taken as strong grounds for supposing that the writer took for granted the identification of Yamada with the local village in Yamato. This view is supported by the traditions of the Ki-ichi house. Although the family line has been broken more than once since the time of Kan-ami's brother, tradition has it that the founder was born in Yamato and that the first four generations of the family were buried at a temple there (33).

On the other hand, the traditions of the Kanze house agree that Kan-ami was born in Iga and was brought to Yamato as a child when his parents went on a pilgrimage to the Hase-dera to pray to Kannon there (34). Although the stories about the early life of Kan-ami grew more elaborate with the passing of time and some parts can easily be shown to be untrue (35), the same applies to some of the traditions of the Ki-ichi house; and Kan-ami's establishment of his Sarugaku group at Obata in Iga (36) seems more understandable if this were the province of his birth and, hence, the home of his ancestors' Yamada Sarugaku group. The particular village of Yamada in Iga province which is in question can, moreover, be shown to have had connections with Dengaku and Sarugaku as far back as the second half of the thirteenth century (37). But, on balance, such points as the proximity of the Yamato villages of Yamada, Deai, and Tobi, where the Hōshō group was located, now make it widely thought that the village of Yamada with the Sarugaku group in which Kan-ami and his brothers must have received their early training was in the province of Yamato (38).

Assuming this to be so, Kan-ami's eldest brother joined the nearby Sarugaku group at Tobi from the family group, the Deai or, as it was formerly called, the Yamada za (39). It is thought that the second son, Ki-ichi, would therefore have become its head but, since nothing more is heard of the group, it probably came to an early end. Very little is known either about the early period of the group at Tobi, which was also called the Hōshō group, probably after a nearby temple of that name (40). Indeed, its very existence before the time of Kan-ami's brother can only be deduced from the statement quoted above, that there had been much intercourse between it and the old Takeda za and Deai za. Genealogical tables of the Hōshō house, for example, are either clearly unreliable in their information about the early generations or begin only with Ren-ami, who died in 1468 (41). All that can be said with any certainty about the Hōshō group at this period is that it was located in the village of Tobi in Yamato and that Kan-ami's eldest brother, who came to be called Hōshō Tayū, was its first known leader.

It has already been mentioned that the youngest of the three brothers, referred to as Kanze but better known as Kan-ami, established a Sarugaku group at Obata in Iga. Two questions arise from this: first, why he did this rather than continue the family group at Deai when, as seems to have been the case, his brother Ki-ichi proved unable to do this for very long; and, second, why he did not start his group in Yamato. As was shown

earlier by the 'Kadensho' list of Sarugaku groups in various provinces, the later group of which he was head, the Yūsaki za, was in Yamato. This gives rise to another question: why, having started a group in Iga, did he move back to Yamato ? In the absence of any information on these points, the field is clear for theories like those put forward by Nogami (42), who suggests that Kan-ami organized a group in Iga, where he may still have had family connections, because there was little scope for him at the time in Yamato, but that, when the chance came, he returned to that province for a variety of reasons: because service at the great shrines and temples there offered greater opportunities than were to be found anywhere else; because it enabled him to rejoin his immediate family in the place where he and his brothers had been trained; and, possibly, because service at certain temples in Yamato dedicated to Kannon would be an expression of his devotion and gratitude to the goddess there with whom he had always been closely associated (43). Nothing definite is known either about the dates when Kan-ami made these moves but, since a seven-day performance which he gave at the Daigo-ji, a temple to the south-east of Kyōto, can be shown to have taken place in the two or three years before 1474 (44), his move from Iga to Yamato was probably somewhat earlier than this.

The group which he led in Yamato showed the same gradual process of change in the names by which it was known as the three other main groups of that province. References to them

by such names as Yūsaki and Emman-i in the 'Kadensho' and 'Sarugaku dangi'[45] show that, until well into the fifteenth century, the official and traditional names of the Yamato groups were those of the places from which they came. But the last quarter of the previous century saw the beginnings of more popular names which were derived from particular actors and their family lines. These personal names gradually superseded the older ones and, finally, replaced them altogether. In the case of the Yūsaki group, the popular name was Kanze and was derived from the Chinese readings of the characters used for the main part of Kan-ami's child-name Miyo-maru[46]. The name Kanze was used even during the lifetime of Kan-ami, and it was possibly by this name that the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu referred to him[47]. A diary entry recording Kan-ami's death in 1384 refers to him clearly enough as Kanze Tayū[48], and there is therefore no foundation for the idea which was in circulation by the eighteenth century, if not before[49], that the name Kanze did not come into being until the time of On-ami (1398-1467), traditionally the third head of the group, when it was formed by taking the first characters from the Buddhist names of his two predecessors, Kan-ami and Zeami. When the title Kanze Tayū was used of Kan-ami, it may well have been as a personal name meaning 'the chief player (called) Kanze' rather than as a general one equivalent to 'the Kanze head', that is, 'the head of the Kanze group'. But when 'Kanze Tayū' or just 'Kanze' continued to be used after his

death to refer to his successors[50], the name must by then have come to signify the line or group of which Kan-ami had been the head, instead of only Kan-ami himself.

The fourth and last of the Yamato Sarugaku groups given in the 'Kadensho' list was the Sakato, which later came to be known as the Kongō group. In its comments on various groups of players, the 'Sarugaku dangi'[51] did no more than indentify Kongō with two men who, having no family name, were known only as Matsu and Take, and who came originally from Kamakura. Their exact connection with the Kongō group is not made clear and no date is mentioned. But, in view of a following note that enquiries should be made and more information added, it may be thought that the matter was not regarded as belonging to the distant past when the 'Sarugaku dangi' was compiled in 1430. Records show, however, that a Sarugaku group belonging to Sakato, a place just west of the Hōryū-ji, was taking part in ceremonies connected with that temple at least as early as 1317[52], and that a group which, though not named, was in all probability the one from Sakato, was doing the same by the middle of the previous century[53]. As it is clear from this that the Sakato za was established in Yamato from an early date, it seems that the reference in the 'Sarugaku dangi' to the origins of Kongō was strictly to the line of that name and not to the Sarugaku group with which it was associated. In other words, it is likely that the man or men from whom the Kongō line sprang joined the

well-established Sakato za in Yamato and that later, when the leadership of the group passed to a descendant who had the name of Kongō, this name of the head came to be used for the group as a whole, just as it did in the other three groups. The first head of the Sakato za known by name is Kesa Tayū who, in 1320, was appointed gakutō or 'entertainment head' in charge of Sarugaku at the ceremonies held at the Hōryū-ji in the sixth moon (54). Sixteen years later he was succeeded in this office by his nephew Iroishi Tayū (55). The earliest known reference to Kongō in connection with Sarugaku dates from 1386, when a player of that name performed in the Taikigi Nō at the Kōfuku-ji (56). Since Iroishi Tayū was old enough to have been appointed gakutō fifty years before this, it was probably a player of the next generation, or even of the next but one, who was called Kongō. Exactly who he was is not known, but he may well have been the player referred to as Kongō Gon-no-Kami in the 'Sarugaku dangi' (57). as he was roughly contemporary with Kan-ami who died comparatively young in 1394.

Sarugaku and Dengaku groups such as those mentioned above, to which most players in the Muromachi period belonged, were known as za. This word, however, was capable of having more than one meaning even when used only in connection with these groups in mediaeval Japan (58). It still had its basic meaning of 'seat' or 'place' in such words as ichiza, niza etc., which originally referred to the places taken at shrine meetings in

order of precedence and, from this, came to indicate the degree of seniority itself[59]. Used alone, za could also mean the 'places' occupied at a shrine meeting in general and, by slight extensions of this meaning, it came to be applied to the whole 'group' occupying such places - its main meaning in the period under discussion- and to the village or district particularly associated with such a group[60]. There was a variety of groups referred to as za but, since those which were concerned with such entertainment forms as Dengaku and Sarugaku outlived all others, the term came to be associated with these alone, and it is from this that za has come into general use in Japan as a suffix indicating a place of entertainment.

When za was used to mean a group as a whole, it indicated an association not unlike a guild in mediaeval Europe. It was used in the first place of village groups which, as they served their local shrines by helping them to carry out their festivals, have in recent times been distinguished by the name miya-za 'shrine associations'[61]. Although they were established primarily for religious purposes, some of these groups appear to have acted also asalocal administrative authority in places where there was a need for this[62]. Miya-za were in existence as early as the middle of the Heian period and, by the end of that period, there were also za which were not established in connection with any religious festival but were concerned essentially with particular crafts or articles of commerce in

the daily life of the locality. These commercial and artisan groups, which are now the best-known kind, were followed by the establishment of similar groups whose members were entertainers of various kinds. The most important za of this type were those concerned with the performance of Sarugaku and Dengaku.

Entertainment za of professional players resembled miya-za in that they were responsible for certain parts of festivals and ceremonies at shrines and temples, but they were much closer in character to the commercial and artisan za in having their relations with these religious institutions on a business-like quid-pro-quo basis. Most of them must have had their origin in particular villages or districts whose inhabitants gave some special type of performance at the festivals of the local shrine, in some cases doubtless as recognized miya-za of the shrine (63). This practice of parishioners taking part in a religious festival by doing some particular thing according to the area in which they live is still to be found in many parts of Japan, and many shrines in other parts of the country are still surrounded by villages with such names as Shishi-mura, Seino-mura, Hoko-no-mura, and Dengaku-mura to bear witness to the part they once played in festivals (64). The establishment of za other than miya-za had as its object the protection of its members against the activities of outsiders. This protection, which was given in a few cases by the Court or a family of the nobility but most often by a powerful shrine or temple, took the form of granting the za monopolies in

their respective lines within the area of influence of the authority concerned. In return for this monopoly, the commercial and artisan za gave either money, goods or labour, and the entertainment za gave certain agreed performances without payment. The existence of these za thus presupposes competitors in sufficient numbers to make some form of protection necessary and, in the case of Dengaku and Sarugaku, this means that there must have been a good number of players active, at least in certain areas, from the first halves of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries respectively.

These za offered their members privileged rights of performance within certain areas and, to maintain the value of what they offered, restricted their own membership. This was done quite simply by limiting the number of those belonging to a group but, even when a vacancy occurred, a prospective member was liable to have to undergo a test of his professional skill and, finally, to pay a joining fee of some size.

Dengaku groups appear traditionally to have had thirteen members. One of the accounts in the 'Sarugaku dangi'(65) of how Dengaku arose says that thirteen servants of the Shōren-in in Kyōto learned it after one of their number had seen it performed while on his way to that temple from Mt. Hiei. As a Dengaku group of thirteen players is mentioned in a temple record of 1330(66), it is not surprising that, by the time the 'Sarugaku dangi' was written a hundred years later, this number should have been

associated with Dengaku long enough for it to be included in stories of how the entertainment began. Other examples of thirteen or, when two groups are concerned, twenty-six Dengaku players working together are to be found in later periods right up to the present day (67); and, although the groups in question are most often the Honza and Shinza which were active around Kyōto and Nara, the existence of such groups in other parts of Japan, including Tōkyō, shows that the connection was as extensive in space as in time. There are, of course, many records which show that the players associated with a certain group or taking part in a particular performance were not thirteen in number (68), but those which do mention this figure are so numerous and so widespread that the only possible explanation is that a Dengaku za was traditionally of this size. Nothing comparable is found with Sarugaku groups and it seems that, although each group kept to a certain total membership, the number varied a good deal with different groups. Among those performing at the Sumiyoshi shrine at the end of the Kamakura period, for example, were apparently two groups with ten players each, two with fifteen each, and one with thirty (69). The records of the Kanze and Komparu houses, however, show something of the internal organization of Sarugaku groups as represented by these two from Yamato. From the rules contained in these records (70), it is possible to piece together a group organization consisting of two parties of adult players, an upper group (kami-za) and a middle group (naka-no-za),

and a third of boys. The upper group consisted of six players, all of whom were likely to be referred to as tayū[71]; the middle group a number unspecified and unknown; and the junior group, from which boys graduated when they reached their fifteenth calendar year, a number unspecified and probably unfixed, since its members were doubtless the male children of the adult players. At the head of the upper group was the leader of the za, known usually as the osa, and his second-in-command, who had the title gon-no-kami; the others below them were distinguished when necessary by being described as the 'third za', 'fourth za' etc., according to seniority. The leader of the middle group was known as the ichirō. There were also persons called shikiji or shikiji-yaku, but this term indicated not a rank but an appointment held by one or more players of the adult groups for a certain period - Kanze Motoyoshi, the compiler of the 'Sarugaku dangi', was not sure how long it was but, in the Komparu school, three players were appointed annually[72]. The duties seem to have been those of general assistant to the head of the za, and the shikiji took precedence after him, at least in sharing the rewards for performance at Tō-ne-mine[73].

Although the general organization may thus be clear, a number of points remain obscure. One of these is how seniority was decided. It is generally said that rank within a group went according to length of service in that group[74], the system usually followed in other types of za. This means that a player

such as Kan-ami who established a new group presumably became the senior member or 'elder' of that group, however his true age compared with that of other members (75). But, since succession to the leadership of a group was hereditary, heirs must frequently have superseded members of long standing, especially when, like Zeami, they took over a group at an early age. It therefore seems that there must have been some dual system of rank. As the player called the osa always received the greatest share of the rewards, he was presumably the hereditary leader of the group. It may be, then, that he and his second-in-command, the gon-no-kami, came from the chief family of the group and that it was only the ordinary players below them who took precedence according to their length of service (76). Another problem is the composition of the middle group. This group seems to have formed a separate unit within the za as a whole and it may be, as some Japanese writers suggest (77), that its members were the musicians or Kyōgen players who certainly formed an integral part of Sarugaku and Dengaku groups at this time; but nothing is known for certain on this point.

It was customary for Dengaku groups in the fourteenth century to test a new member's skill before admitting him and, when there was competition for a vacancy, to decide who should join by choosing the most skilful (78). Any new appointment, however, had to be recognised by the temples at which performances were given (79) because valuable gifts of

money and costumes were often given to players who took part in them. Recognition took the form of a document, rather like a pass, from the temple authorities to the player concerned, and there is no reason to think that they ever attempted to challenge the choice made by the group. There are cases, however, of the secular authorities interfering in this way: Hōjō Takatoki and Ashikaga Takauji, the two greatest patrons of Dengaku, are both known to have demanded of the authorities of the Tōdai-ji that Dengaku players who were favourities of theirs should be recognized by that temple and allowed to take part in performances at its festivals (80). Although Sarugaku groups must also have assured themselves of the abilities of would-be entrants before accepting them, no record is known which specifically states this. Conversely, while it can only be assumed that new members of Dengaku groups had to pay a joining fee, it is known for sure that this was so in Sarugaku. The 'Sarugaku dangi' (81) states that this fee should go to the head of the za but that, if the newcomer went into the middle group, his joining fee should be shared by the head of the za and the ichirō of that group. The amount that had to be paid is not mentioned but if the three priestesses who joined the miko-za at the Kasuga shrine in late 1348 and early 1349 had to pay a sum equivalent in value to more than two hundred bushels of rice, as Nose estimates (82), the fee paid to join a Sarugaku za may well have been as high or even higher.

Relations between a za and the shrine or temple protecting it depended on an official known as the o-tō or tōnin 'head'. He was responsible for the activities of the particular group to which, or from which, he was appointed, and who, together with the other tōnin, thus had charge of the non-religious arrangements for festivals and ceremonies in which the groups took part. In the case of commercial and artisan za, the usual procedure was apparently for the tōnin to be appointed by the shrine or temple in question and for the appointment to be ratified subsequently by the secular authorities (83). In the case of tōnin dealing with entertainment groups, who were usually known as gakutō, literally 'music heads' (84), the procedure was similar but the office was somewhat more exacting than usual in that there were technical and artictic points about the performances to be considered as well as the usual matters of administration. This is perhaps why a leading professional player, normally the head of the za concerned, was appointed gakutō in most places (85). Only very exceptionally when the employment of certain groups of players involved considerable financial responsibility, was a priest appointed to deal with the players. This happened, for example, when the two Dengaku groups attended the Kasuga Wakamiya festival. Being independent of the Kōfuku-ji, which had charge of the festival, the players were given large sums of money and valuable costumes, in addition to their normal daily provisions, and to

meet these expenses the gakutō had to raise contributions from the numerous religious institutions and settlements which came under the authority of the temple (86).

The za established in the provinces around the capital grew in importance by acquiring the right to perform at various shrines and temples in the area, a right usually bringing with it the office of gakutō for their leader. The duties of this office and the conditions under which it was held varied a good deal from place to place. At the Kōfuku-ji, where temple priests were designated to deal with the Dengaku groups, appointments were made yearly (87), but in some places the office was apparently held indefinitely by the same professional player who, subject to the permission of the religious authorities, would sell, buy it back, and even pledge it as security for a loan (88). Leaving aside the comparatively rare cases where he was a priest, a gakutō who was concerned with Sarugaku, for example, was entirely responsible for the arrangements relating to the Sarugaku performances and, unless these were being done as the obligation of a za to its patron, was allowed a certain sum of money for this purpose. If, for any reason, the usual group could not attend, it was his duty to ensure that another was engaged to perform instead. As the terms on which an outside group came were decided by agreement between him and its head, it was unlikely that the gakutō lost financially by the change(89).

The shrine or temple which sppointed a gakutō naturally retained authority to dismiss him if he or his players, for whom he was held responsible, gave sufficient cause. But physical violence was a much greater risk than legal action in mediaeval Japan, even in ecclesiastical circles, and on a number of occasions gakutō were struck - in at least one case, with fatal results- because of some misdemeanour or the failure of players to attend when required (90).

Because of this, and to ensure the general efficiency of a za which, for entertainment za, meant very largely the attendance of members for certain specified performances, it was necessary for each group to have rules and the means of enforcing them. The Kanze group - and the other three groups of Yamato Sarugaku must have had very similar arrangements- required its members to assemble for what might be called duty performances on only three occasions a year, once each at the Kōfuku-ji, the Kasuga Shrine and Tō-no-mine (91). Those who attended and then became ill, who were in mourning and, therefore, unclean, or who were travelling in distant provinces, were not penalized for failing to take part in the performances, but attendance was otherwise required from all who were in a wide area covered by the province of Yamato, Iga, Ise, Yamashiro, Ōmi, Izumi, Kawachi, Kii and Settsu (92). The punishment for failure to fulfil obligations on any of the three occasions varied from the witholding of payment or the imposition of fines to expulsion

from the group for a long period[93]. Apart from these duty performances, for which players received little more than their subsistence, members of a group were free to take part in other performances of the group for which payment was made - and which, therefore, did not have to be safeguarded by a system of punishments for non-attendance - or to go their own way until they were again required to assemble as a group.

A particular group would often perform at a number of shrines and temples, usually with its leader holding the office of gakuto there, in addition to the one to which it was attached as a za[94]. It might have been formally recognized as a za by several shrines or temples at different periods. As time went on, however, it would gravitate to the shelter of the most powerful of these. In the list of shrines and Sarugaku groups quoted at the beginning of this chapter, for example, it is the main shrine or temple served by the various groups that is mentioned and only the names of the groups show, in some cases, their places of origin. Once a group was protected as a za of a powerful shrine, it was no longer necessary to maintain this relationship with a lesser shrine. Unless this was a subsidiary of the new patron shrine and the continuation of duty performances there was made a condition of recognition by the main shrine, it could be left to take another group of players as one of its za or, if it was sufficiently wealthy, performances could be given by the original group for payment instead of as a due. Thus, when the

four groups of Yamato Sarugaku are described as being attached to the Kasuga Shrine, this means that they were protected by that shrine (or, more precisely, by the Kōfuku-ji, with which the Kasuga Shrine was virtually identified) as a recognized za and were committed, in return, to give performances each year at certain religious festivals.

Notes To Chapter II.

1. See, for example, Morisue, Chūsei no shaji to geijutsu 131-220, on Dengaku in Chikugo and Chikuzen in Kyūshū; and the Kammon gyoki, qtd. NS 100-1, for mention of a Sarugaku group from the west of Japan.

2. Hōryū-ji Ōdai nenjū gyōji, qtd. NG 1504.

3. Although the distance between the locations of these groups makes it seem strange that the Shinza should have been so named to distinguish it from the earlier group, there can be little doubt that this is what happened. There is, for example, no record of a Honza in Yamato or of a Shinza in Kyōto to account for the names given to the known groups, and it is known that the same names, Honza and Shinza, were used to distinguish Sarugaku groups belonging to different provinces. (See below, for example, concerning the groups which attended ceremonies at the Hōshō-ji.)

4. TZN 37-8. See Chap. III n.62 below for a list of Zeami's articles which, with the 'Sarugaku dangi', are henceforth referred to collectively as the Writings.

5. Two of the texts of this part of the 'Kadensho' used by Kawase in his TZN, the Matsunoya-bon and the Komparu text in Zeami's own hand, have notes giving, respectively, the names of the villages and provinces to which these groups belonged. The history of these groups which, in spite of their diverse origins, have come to be known collectively

as Tamba Sarugaku, presents a number of problems, one of which is the location of the Shinza. The difficulty arises from the fact that, while the only place in the provinces around the capital known to have been called Enami was in Settsu, the group is located in Kawachi by Zeami in his note to the 'Kadensho' list, by his son Motoyoshi in the 'SD' (TZN 341 & 354), and by the text accompanying a portrait of Kanze Kojirō Nobumitsu (d. 1516), qtd. NG 324. Morisue ('Tamba Sarugaku-kō', Rekishi chiri 1935 vol. 66 no. 3, 42-3) states that the Shinza was located at Enami in Settsu and follows Yoshida (Zeami jūrokubushū intro. 24) in suggesting that Zeami's references to Enami in connection with Kawachi were due to his mistaken idea of its situation. Nogami (Sarugaku dangi 105 n.61) and Kawase ('Kadensho', TZN 38 n.3), taking the texts at their face value, refer to 'Kawachi no Enami' (although elsewhere ('SD', TZN 319 n.31) Kawase also talks of 'Settsu no Enami'.) In his NG (339-40) Nose follows Morisue (op.cit) in stating that the Shinza was located at Enami in Settsu province and, in the ZJH (vol2, 578), quotes an entry in the Kammon gyoki for 1420 to support this. But he also cites the text accompanying the portrait of Kojirō as proof that the phrase 'province of Kawachi' which is put against the Honza in the Sōsetsu-bon text of the 'Kadensho' should have been applied to the Shinza (NG 323-4) and, in discussing the reference to Kawachi in the 'SD', tentatively

suggests the possibility of the Sarugaku group which had been established at Enami in Settsu having moved into Kawachi (ZJH vol.2, 578). This is surely the most likely explanation. Yoshida's suggestion that Zeami did not know where Enami was is only a flimsy supposition and may be disregarded altogether in view of the personal contacts both Kan-ami and Zeami had with members of the Enami group (see 'SD', TZN 279 & 287). Similarly, although the Kammon gyoki was right historically in describing Enami as Settsu Sarugaku, Zeami and Motoyoshi were unlikely continually to make the same mistake about the location of the group at the time they were writing. Zeami's relevant copy of the 'Kadensho' being ascribed to the 1420's and the 'SD' being dated 1430, it can be said that the Enami group seems to have moved from Settsu into Kawachi by the 1420's. It may have been because of this that, in the above list in the 'Kadensho', Zeami put against the Shinza the note 'resident in Kawachi' instead of just the name of the province as he did with the other two groups.

6. See NG 880-918 and Morisue, Chūsei no shaji to geijutsu 3-106 on Uji Sarugaku.

7. See NG 956-96 and Morisue, 'Tamba Sarugaku-kō', Rekishi chiri 1935 vol.66 no.3 on these and other groups in Tamba.

8. 'SD', TZN 340-1. Nose, ZJH vol.2, 582, points out that Okina masks also figure in legends about the establishment of other schools of Sarugaku.

9. NG 921-3.

10. Cf. the terms kami-gakari and shimo-gakari used of the present-day Nō groups. These are sometimes explained as having arisen because the Kanze and Hōshō groups (the kami-gakari) became established in the capital and the Komparu and Kongō remained centred on Nara.

11. 'SD', TZN 339. From the 'Kadensho', TZN 36, he also seems to have been known as Ki no Gon-no-kami.

12. 'Kadensho', TZN 36.

13. ibid. 37, qtd. below, and 'SD', TZN 339.

14. TZN 34-5. Nonomura, KJ intro.1, quotes a slightly different version of the story.

15. Probably the eldest brother of Zenchiku's grandfather, Komparu Gon-no-kami. He would thus have been more or less contemporary with Kan-ami. See pp. 21-2 below, however, on the Komparu genealogy.

16. 'Kadensho', TZN 37.

17. There is no proof, for example, that Ujiyasu's lineage derived from Kōkatsu and not from one of the many other lines of the Hata family; and the chronology which made Mitsutarō the 29th. (or, according to the 'EH', KJ 116, the 26th. or 27th.) in line from Ujiyasu is clearly wrong, as it gives an average of only about 14 years per generation. If the line is taken as starting with Kōkatsu (say, about the year 550), however, the result is an average of

nearly 30 years per generation. This, and the slight strangeness of the following sentence in the 'Kadensho', which states that masks from the time of Prince Shōtoku, who has just been shown to have been contemporary with Kōkatsu, had been handed down from Ujiyasu, make it possible that Kōkatsu was meant in each case, and not Ujiyasu.

18. 'EH', KJ 114 & 115.

19. See NG 308-14 and CBG 74-6 for accounts of the origins and uses of these names.

20. TZN 339.

21. KJ 116 and qtd. NG 315.

22. See, for example, KJ 8-9, NG 315 and NK 111. These presumably follow the genealogical table of the Komparu house known as the Takeda Komparu-ke ryakkei (qtd. KJ 502-15) which was compiled in the late Tokugawa period; but this, as Nose shows (NG 317), is itself highly unreliable.

23. To allow for them, NG 315, NK 111 etc. amend 27 to 29 in the text, but there are no grounds for this.

24. TZN 37 n.7 & 279 n.35.

25. The text qtd. by Nose (NG 315) has chōshi 'eldest son' as a note against the name Mitsutarō, and that qtd. by Kobayashi (NK 111) gives chōshi in the main text preceding the name. But Nonomura's text (KJ 116) has no such description and the reference to Mitsutarō as the eldest son clearly seems to have been a later and, perhaps, mistaken addition.

26. Yasaburō would thus be the 27th. head, as the record states. A difficulty remains, however, in the phrase 'Mitsutarō, chakushi Bishaō Jirō mune to shite...'. This would normally be taken to mean that Jirō was made the head, but the sentence goes on to state that Mitsutarō handed over to Yasaburō and this is corroborated by the numbers given for the generations. There are several possible explanations: it could be that chakushi Bishaō Jirō is a parenthetical addition, giving the meaning 'Mitsutarō, whose eldest son was Bishaō Jirō, being head of the group....'; that the phrase mune to shite did not necessarily mean that Jirō became the official head of the group; or that he became the head but, being succeeded by Yasaburō who was of the same generation, was not counted separately - that is to say, the numbers given refer to true family generations and only one head of the group was recognized in each. If there were such a practice, it would also explain why Motomasa has been ignored as head of the Kanze group in the records of that house in favour of On-ami (see Chap. III 83 below).

27. TZN 339-40.

28. Until the appearance of an article by Hirota in the periodical Kanze in Jan. 1935, it was thought that the name of this group was the Ai za, that is, a Sarugaku group in a place called Ai which was identified by various writers

with different villages in Iga and Settsu. Since then, however, it has been universally accepted that the Writings refer throughout to Deai and that this was a village in Yamato.

29. This name is given as Suginoki in texts of the 'SD', but it is very likely that this is a mistake for Suginomoto (see NG 644).

30. This is usually taken to refer to Yamada Ko-mino Tayū, but it is possible that it was meant to refer, as some writers assume (e.g., Nogami, Kan-ami Kiyotsugu 10), to his adopted son who would probably have succeeded him as head of Yamada Sarugaku. On the other hand, if it had been this adopted son who died young, one would have expected him to be succeeded by his eldest son (who, being known as Hōshō Tayū, clearly became the head of the Hōshō group) instead of by his second son Ki-ichi as is generally supposed.

31. The most likely place of this name is in the present Abe-mura, Shiki-gun.

32. For example, 'Iga Obata' ('SD', TZN 337).

33. See NG 639-41 for quotations from the writings of Sakamoto and Nonomura on this point. Yamada Sarugaku seems to have moved from Yamada to Deai in the time of Ki-ichi or his father, but this hardly casts doubt on the tradition that the first four generations of the Ki-ichi line were buried in Yamada as the two villages are very near.

34. See Nonomura, Nōgaku kokonki 3-5. Even as late as 1866 Iga was given as his native province by the head of the Kanze school in a report to the authorities (see Nogami, Kan-ami Kiyotsugu 51 n.1).

35. For example, the story that his parents were led to make their pilgrimage after the premature death of Kan-ami's two elder brothers. (See Nonomura, Nōen nissho 17-8 on this point.)

36. 'SD', TZN 337.

37. Performances there in that period are mentioned in a document of 1597; see NG 639.

38. This is now the general view but Kobayashi (NK 117-9), for example, was strongly in favour of Iga.

39. 'SD', TZN 339.

40. CBG 81.

41. Nonomura ('Hōsho genryū-kō', Nōen nissho 15-22) points out the sudden absence of any mention of Hōsho in records covering the 20 years before 1450 and plausibly suggests that the Hōsho line was then broken and was revived by Ren-ami, who is therefore given as the founder of the line in the usual genealogical tables. Nose (NG 650-3), however, indicates the weakness of this and other theories put forward by Nonomura.

42. Kan-ami Kiyotsugu 11-5.

43. See p.24 above, and also Chap.III 63 below on the name given him as a child.

44. Nose, NG 697-9, limits the period to this extent by a comparison of various records.

45. TZN 37, 345, 349 etc.

46. This is given as his child-name in a number of records of the Kanze house. See Nonomura, Nōgaku kokonki 10-8, for a full account of the origin of the name Kanze, including quotations from these records.

47. 'Kanze' is to be found in an entry of 1378 in the Go-gumaiki, qtd. NS 9 etc. The 'SD', TZN 341, quotes Yoshimitsu as talking of 'Kanze', but one cannot be sure that this was in fact the form of address used by him.

48. Jōgakki, qtd. NS 11.

49. It is found in the Shinkyoku seimei higen (wr. 1760), qtd. Nonomura, Nōgaku kokonki 14.

50. Lay records often referred to them as 'Kanze Tayū' (see, e.g., Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NS 70 & 71 concerning Motomasa, and 104 concerning On-ami; and see Chap.III 75-8 below on uncertainty in identiftying the person referred to as 'Kanze Tayū' in the 1420's). The Writings use this title of Motomasa ('SD', TZN 345), and 'Kanze' of Zeami (ibid. 342, 343 etc.).

51. TZN 340.

52. According to CBG 76.

53. See NG 288-91.

54. Ōdai nenjū gyōji, qtd. NG 288-9. See pp.37-9 on the office of gakutō.

55. ibid.

56. Daijōin-ki, qtd. NG 590. See Chap. VI 163-6 below on the Takigi Nō. The occurrence of such names as Kanze and Kongō in temple records at early dates led Takano, Nihon kayōshi 480-1, to associate them with the later Sarugaku groups of those names and to suggest that they derived originally from Gigaku. But Nose, NG 450-5, and Nagashima, CBG 76-9, have shown that similarity of name alone is meaningless.

57. TZN 330-1 etc. See Chap. XI 346-7 below for some account of this player.

58. See Hiraizumi, Chūsei ni okeru shaji to shakai to no kankei 247-50, and Higo, Miya-za no kenkyū 18-9 & 27-31, for discussion of the meanings of 'za' and other references.

59. See p.34.

60. Such place-names still exist in many parts: e.g., Zaimoku-za in Kamakura.

61. See Higo, Miya-za no kenkyū; Inoue, Kyōto no koshūshi; and Tsujimoto, Washū saireiki. (The last two, however, have not been available to me.)

62. See Hayashiya, Kabuki izen 57-8.

63. Hayashiya, ibid. 60-2, and Higo, op.cit. 576-7, see miya-za as the origin of later entertainment groups such as those of Sarugaku. Apart from the inherent likelihood of this being so, there is the evidence of place-names, as mentioned below. To the extent that entertainment za continued

to take part in shrine festivals, they could be regarded as a type of miya-za, but it seems best to treat them as a distinct class because, as professional groups, they participated primarily for profit and not simply as a form of religious devotion. Interesting examples of something very similar to non-professional Sarugaku miya-za are to be found at the present day in Kurokawa, Yamagata prefecture, where the local people maintain two groups known as the Kami-za and Shimo-za which give performances of Nō in the local Kasuga Shrine at festival times. (See Nōgaku gahō 1936 vol.31 no.11; Honda, Nō oyobi kyōgen kō 188-203; and Matsudaira, Matsuri 367-402, on Kurokawa Nō.)

64. See Hayashiya, Kabuki izen 60-1, for examples of shrines of this kind. The spectacular fire festival which now takes place about the middle of April in the small town of Ōmi Hachiman in Shiga prefecture is an example of a festival where the particular way in which people participate varies according to where they live.

65. TZN 343-4.

66. Qtd. NG 1501.

67. See, for example, various records qtd. NS 221, NG 1481, and Takano, Kabu ongyoku kōsetsu 86-7, 126, 132 & 137-8; see also Matsudaira, Matsuri 46-7.

68. For example, the Bun-an Dengaku Nō-ki (cntnd. in Gunsho ruijū series 1, vol.19 bk.363 and qtd. in part by Takano, op.cit. 73-7) gives the names of 14 adult players and 4

children (one of whom was apparently not permanently connected with the group) who took part in a performance in 1446. (Takano describes the group as having 17 players, but as each of the three children attached to the group was the son of one of the adult players, they are probably best regarded as supernumeraries.)

69. Sumiyoshi daijingū sho-shinji shidai, qtd. NG 1514. Since the two with ten players each were, strictly speaking, Shushi groups, the basic unit in a true Sarugaku group appears from this record to have been 15; but no verification of this from other sources is known.

70. 'SD', TZN 349 et.seq. and 'EH', KJ 113.

71. This title could be used with a variety of meanings. It was frequently used to mean specifically the head of a group, as in 'Kanze Tayū' etc.; but it could also mean the ordinary run of players, as opposed to the head of a group and his assistant (see 'SD', TZN 349) or, more commonly, any adult player or musician of a group (e.g., the Kyōgen player Tsuchi Tayū).

72. TZN 352, and 'EH', KJ 113.

73. 'SD', TZN 349.

74. For example, ZJH vol.2, 506, and TZN 322 n.29.

75. Since Kan-ami is said to have set a precedent in 1374 by performing Okina himself, as head of the group, instead of having the senior member (shukurō) dance the piece ('SD', TZN 321), it appears that he was not, in fact, regarded

as the senior member. But the explanation of this point is probably that shukurō did not mean the senior player in terms of length of service, as is sometimes assumed, but simply the eldest by age. As the character Okina is a symbol of longevity, moreover, the earlier custom would have had some significance if it required him to be portrayed by the oldest player.

76. Nose suggest this in his NG 1185, but in his later ZJH vol. 2, 506, he explains the organization as depending solely on length of service, equating the leader of the group with the senior member.

77. For example, Kawase, TZN 350 n.2.

78. See a Tōdai-ji document of 1330, qtd. NG 1502-3.

79. See Takano, Kabu ongyoku kōsetsu 122-3, for an entry in a document of the Kasuga Shrine setting this out, and for an example of a document recognizing the appointment of a new Dengaku player.

80. See two records of the temple, qtd. NG 1502-3.

81. TZN 251-2. Nose's interpretation of the key-word iri-zeni as meaning 'entrance money', that is, 'joining fee' (ZJH vol.2, 622), is preferable to Kawase's 'income' (TZN 351 n.1), particularly in view of Motoyoshi's comment a little later (TZN 352) that he must find out more about the matter.

82. NG 1187-8. See App.2, 394-5 on these priestesses.

83. Hayashiya, Kabuki izen 64.

84. Although Bugaku and other forms of musical entertainment

were also included in some festivals, the term gakutō in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods almost invariably referred to Dengaku or Sarugaku; that is, it was used as an abbreviated form of Dengakutō or Sarugakutō.

85. See Kammon gyoki, qtd. NS 40; Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NS 64, 69 etc.

86. For the importance of the gakutō's work in collecting these contributions, see especially the Daijōin jisha zatsuji-ki and Wakamiya-matsuri Dengakutō-ki, qtd. NS 176-205. Priests, sometimes three in number, were also appointed for the attendance of the Yamato Sarugaku schools at Tō-no-mine (see 'SD', TZN 349).

87. See the Daijōin jisha zatsuji-ki, qtd. NS 233, 294, 300 etc.

88. See entries in the Kammon gyoki describing the office held by Aiō Tayū of Yata Sarugaku at Go-kō no Miya, qtd. NS 50, 56, 120 & 129.

89. According to Nose, NG 1184. Instances of outside players being employed occurred at Go-kō no Miya in 1417 & 1421 (see Kammon gyoki, qtd. NS 43 & 50).

90. See Kammon gyoki & Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NS 52, 63, 64 etc.

91. 'SD', TZN 351. See Chap.VI 163-71 on these performances.

92. 'SD', ibid.

93. ibid. 350-1.

94. See Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NS 69, concerning a yearly performance of this kind at Daigo by the Kanze group.

CHAPTER III

Sarugaku And Dengaku:

(2) Their Popularity, Patrons And Players.

Until the last quarter of the fourteenth century Dengaku enjoyed greater fame and popularity than any other entertainment of the time. By the first decade of that century it was giving an advanced type of performance, based mainly on Nō plays[1], and enjoying great popularity as a result. The performances were, for the most part, still given in shrines and temples, but their purpose was by no means always religious. The audiences there included retired emperors, princes of the blood and many other rich and influential nobles who, in the manner of their time, had become priests; and these people often took advantage of the arrival of players for religious festivals to arrange private performances in their own residences[2].

The strength of the appeal of Dengaku in this period is indicated by a diary entry of 1311[3] which records a visit of the retired emperor Go-Fushimi to Kitayama to attend a performance there and then adds, 'Recently this entertainment has become popular everywhere to the exclusion of all others. It is truly remarkable.' Only a week later the same writer was moved to exclaim, 'An epidemic is raging. People call it Dengaku illness.'[4] The most famous players of this period were Tōren and Kōren of the Honza[5], and the ever-increasing popularity of Dengaku must have been due in large measure to their skill. News of the Dengaku craze in the

western part of Japan spread to Kamakura, the seat of Hōjō rule, and it was from the regent Hōjō Takatoki, who was in power from 1316 to 1337, that Dengaku received its most lavish patronage. The Taiheiki (6) tells of the immoderate pleasure he took in it:

'At this time Dengaku was very popular as an entertainment in the capital, high and low alike becoming addicted to it. Hearing about this, Sagami Nyūdō /i.e., Takatoki/ summoned the players of the Shinza and Honza Dengaku from the capital and gave himself up to the enjoyment of it morning, noon and night to the exclusion of all else. Carried away by the pleasure he found in it, he assigned a Dengaku player to each of the important daimyo and had them deck them out in fine clothes. In this way, one player would be known as the Dengaku of such-and-such a lord and another as the Dengaku of some other lord, so that the players had money and valuables lavished on them and dressed in rich and gorgeous robes. When they sang a piece at a banquet, the members of the house and the daimyo there, each determined not to be outdone by the others, would all follow Sagami Nyūdō in taking off their hitatare (7) and ōguchi (8) and throwing them to the performers. When these were piled up they made a veritable mountain of clothes. How many tens of thousands they cost is past all knowing.'

Takatoki's addiction to Dengaku and dog-fighting have earned him the condemnation of writers ever since, the defection of the eastern provinces and the downfall of the Hōjō

line having been attributed forthwith to 'dogs and Dengaku'[9] and even to Dengaku alone[10] by writers of the time. The first Ashikaga shogun Takauji, however, was by no means inclined to eschew Dengaku. If his enthusiasm for it was somewhat less extreme than Takatoki's had been, it was keen enough for it to be known even today that he attended at least three performances in the same year[11], and for him to have insisted, as already mentioned, that the Tōdai-ji should admit a favourite of his as one of its Dengaku players.

Takauji died in 1358 and, like Takatoki, must often have seen performances by Itchū, also of the Honza, the most famous player of his day[12]. Some idea of his skill and standing is to be had from the fact that the three greatest players of the next generation - Kan-ami of Yamato Sarugaku, Inuō of Ōmi Sarugaku, and Kiami of the Honza Dengaku - all learned from him[13]. It is impossible to say exactly what the relationship between Itchū and these Sarugaku players was. It is sometimes suggested that Kan-ami's description of the Dengaku master as the teacher from whom he learned his style probably meant only that he had been influenced by Itchū's own style of performance. While this may be so, the remark that Inuō 'was also a pupil (deshi) of Itchū' which follows Kan-ami's statement makes a more formal teacher-pupil relationship seem rather more likely. The best-known event in which Itchū was concerned was the great subscription (kanjin) performance of

Dengaku at Shijō-gawara in Kyōto in 1349 at which the stands collapsed[14]. On that occasion, he led the players of the Honza in a combined performance with those of the Shinza, who were led by a player called Hana-yasha[15].

He, however, was not in the same class as the Honza master; and, in the same way, after the death of Itchū there was no one in the Shinza who could compare with Kiami. He was classed, even by Sarugaku players, with Itchū, Kan-ami and Inuō as one of the great ones in the history of Nō[16], although his position, it seems, was due almost entirely to an outstanding musical skill which earned him the description of the father of Nō music[17]. Kiami was his Buddhist name and was made up of the first character of his earlier lay name of Kame-yasha and the ending -ami (or, in its full form, -amidabutsu)[18] which was used in the names of priests belonging to a sub-sect of Jōdō Buddhism known as the Ji-shū[19]. This sect had Amidabutsu as its main deity, but Buddhist names with this ending were used, at least from the time of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-95) onwards, by many who can hardly be regarded as genuine priests. In most cases they were men of humble origin who, being connected with the arts as painters, musicians, actors, masters of the tea-ceremony and flower arrangement, and so on, went through the formalities of entering the priesthood in order to escape from their class and be able to take a place in the literary and artistic coteries which were maintained by the highest personages

in the land[20]. Kiami was apparently one of those who enjoyed the patronage of Yoshimitsu, and his advice to Zeami when the latter was preparing to appear before the shogun shows that he was no stranger to such occasions[21]. His lifetime probably spanned the second half of the fourteenth century and, in 1374, the boy who was later to be known as Zeami was able to see him perform in Nara in his prime, before his voice began to fade[22].

The twenty years that followed form the most crucial period in the history of Nō. Yoshimitsu continued to patronize Dengaku and its players, favouring especially one named Zōami who, while still a child, had performed a lion dance before him[23]. Roughly contemporary with Zeami, this player belonged to the Shinza. He proved to be the only one of that group and, indeed, the last Dengaku player of any kind, who was fit to rank with the earlier players of the Honza. Although his musical skill was due to some extent to Kiami[24], he differed from him in being a most versatile player who did not even confine himself to the usual Dengaku style of performance[25]. The subtle skill of his performances, which made them moving even to other players[26], is embodied in the masks he made, for they are the most beautiful of any found in Nō, with a gentle, indefinable expression which makes others of the kind seem coarse in comparison[27]. It was Zōami who carried the Shinza through the series of public subscription performances which were given annually for ten years from 1413[28], and it is known that, in 1423, he received rich

gifts from admirers among the nobility (29). Taken together with Zeami's high opinion of him, these points make it clear that, until the 1420's, if not later, he enjoyed the acclaim of people both inside and outside his profession.

Meanwhile, however, there had been developments in Sarugaku which were to have far-reaching results. In 1374, the year in which the young Sarugaku boy watched Kiami, he himself appeared with his father before Ashikaga Yoshimitsu at Ima-gumano in Kyōto to give the first Sarugaku performance that ruler had ever seen (30). The shogun's attendance there may well have been arranged by one Nan-ami, a skilful composer patronized by Yoshimitsu, who was certainly anxious that the head of the Kanze group should be noticed by the shogun (31). However that may be, the sixteen-year old Yoshimitsu was greatly impressed by the skill of Kanze Kiyotsugu and by his eleven-year old son Fujiwaka - by the two, that is, who later became known as Kan-ami and Zeami. He thereafter extended his patronage to both of them and, although Kiyotsugu only lived to enjoy it for another ten years, the younger Kanze spent a great deal of time in the company of the shogun and his associates, and was able to grow up with an understanding of the aesthetic tastes and standards of the class for which his own art was to cater more and more. For over fifty years there had been precedents for the nobility to consort with performers like Zeami, but the more conservative elements of society had always looked askance at such behaviour, regarding

members of the theatrical profession as no more respectable than did their opposite numbers in Victorian England. Hōjō Takatoki had been roundly condemned for his indulgence in Dengaku and, in1378, the sight of Fujiwaka with Yoshimitsu at the Gion Festival earned a complaint in a diary about the shogun's love for the boy and the way in which they sat together and passed dishes to each other. 'This Sarugaku is the trade of beggars', the writer added (32).

It was, it seems, the boy's background rather than the shogun's relations with him which excited the writer's indignation. Homosexuality between males, which was no doubt fostered by the Buddhist injunctions against relations with women, was particularly common in the Muromachi period and there can be no doubt that the physical attractions of Zeami and, perhaps, Zōami were largely instrumental in gaining the patronage of the young ruler. But the favours of the shogun and, hence, of many of the great lords, had their real importance, not in the relations they imply with any particular player, but in the effect they had indirectly on the development of Sarugaku. The rewards that came from the patronage of the great meant that players were less dependent on popular appeal for their livelihood. It is not known if this led to any change in Dengaku performances in the time of Hōjō Takatoki, but it seems unlikely that the players would have felt any need to make their performances more artistic and refined in the raw, essentially military

atmosphere of Kamakura. The Ashikaga rulers, on the other hand, partook more and more of the standards and tastes of the nobility in Kyōto which, under them, was once more the seat of government, and players who received their patronage had an incentive to reflect these standards and tastes in their performances. Among those players it was Kan-ami and, in particular, Zeami who were most successful in improving the quality and style of their performances. Their good fortune in gaining patronage and their ability to put it to use diverted the stream of fame and favour to Sarugaku and, except for an occasional eddy, left Dengaku to wither away.

The first head of the Kanze or Yūsaki Sarugaku group, who is now invariably known by his Buddhist name of Kan-ami, had the child-name of Miyo-maru (or, when the main characters were given their Chinese readings, Kanze), in honour of the goddess Kanzeon[33]. In addition to Kanze, which was used as a familiar name for him, he was called Saburō Kiyotsugu as an adult. He was born in 1333, the year, appropriately enough, of Hōjō Takatoki's death, and although he lived until 1384[34], he can only have had Kan-ami as a name for less than ten years, from the time when he joined Yoshimitsu's coterie as a priest after their meeting in 1374[35] until, at some time before his death, he returned to lay life[36]. Until he was over forty, Kan-ami depended for his success mainly on his popularity among the ordinary, uneducated people of the time and the interest of the nobility came to him too late in life to have any

fundamental effect on his own character or on that of his work. Although his qualities as a musician, writer and actor will be considered in later chapters, it must be said here that he was highly skilled in all branches of his art and outstandingly brilliant in many. The Nō plays he wrote, though more restrained in character than some by his contemporaries, tend to be rather dramatic, with elements of humour and lively dialogue to carry them along and with few of the literary intricacies that appeared in so many later plays, including most of Zeami's. The Writings of his son show that, as an actor, he was alone in his ability to carry his audiences away, whether this required him to represent the very acme of artistic beauty, according to the standards of his day, or, at the other extreme, to 'mingle with the dust'(37). If his versatility as an actor enabled him to delight any audience, his musical skill must have established his reputation still more firmly, for it was remarkable, even in comparison with his own other abilities. 'He had a miraculous gift for putting a thing into music, no matter what it was.'(38) It was in the field of music that he made his greatest contribution to the development of Nō. The following chapters will describe how a popular song form, known as Kusemai, was flourishing in the time of Kan-ami, and how his adoption of some of these songs into Sarugaku led to a complete change in the structure of Nō plays and eventually produced a blend of musical styles which became characteristic of the Yamato Sarugaku groups and, hence, of Nō itself. But some mention must be made here of Kan-ami's study and adoption

of Kusemai because of their bearing on the question of the patronage and popularity of the Kanze group, in particular, and because they give some indication of the character of a man about whom all too little is known.

In the absence of any definite evidence as to when Kan-ami first performed Kusemai in Sarugaku, it can only be said that it was perhaps this innovation which resulted in his fame spreading to the capital after his seven-day performance at the Daigo-ji[39]. It may, therefore, have been Kusemai which first brought his group into prominence and led to the all-important patronage of Yoshimitsu. Kusemai music was so unlike that of Sarugaku that it says much for Kan-ami's enterprise and indeed, courage, that he should have first studied the style from a woman performer and then introduced it into Sarugaku. Kusemai performers were only one of many types of popular entertainers, all very low in the social scale, and it has been suggested[40] that, for a man in Kan-ami's position to be willing to learn from a performer of this kind - especially a woman - showed great humility anddevotion to his art. Kan-ami himself, however, had no especial dignity to maintain before he won the recognition of Yoshimitsu: he was only a humble Sarugaku player and, as such, may have come under the authority of the same class of low-ranking temple official (shōmonji) in Nara as the Kusemai players themselves, at least until the support of a more powerful authority was obtained[41]. His greatness in connection with Kusemai

lay rather in the inspiration which prompted him to present this form of entertainment as part of Sarugaku. The content of Sarugaku performances being a good deal more varied in the Muromachi period than Nō performances are today, the presentation of independent song and dance forms was not uncommon; but the introduction of Kusemai, which were so markedly different from anything previously known in Sarugaku, and the resolve, after the initial success, to bring about a closer association of the two forms, were the bold strokes of a man who had complete confidence in himself as master of all aspects of his own art. Shadowy though the picture of Kan-ami remains, all the indications are that he was essentially a practical man who developed his great gifts as writer, actor and musician in the workaday world of the Sarugaku groups as they struggled to improve their lot by pleasing any and every audience, whether composed of simple country people seeking colour and excitement or members of temple hierarchies with perhaps the most mature tastes of their day. It was fortunate that, although not much over fifty when he died, Kan-ami was able to teach and guide his son for more than twenty years, thus giving him a sound basis, the quintessence of his own experience, on which Zeami, with his different background, was able to build the structure of theory and philosophy about his art which survives in his written works.

It is hard to avoid the feeling that Kan-ami did not fit very easily into the elegant, aesthetic circle which centred on Yoshimitsu. His death in Suruga shows that his rise

to high favour in the capital did not prevent him from going off on a long tour to perform in local shrines and such places. The death of his mentor Nan-ami in 1381 (42) perhaps made his life in Kyōto a little less easy and enjoyable than it had been. Kan-ami was, in any case, not so enamoured of the shōgun's favour that he attempted to keep it for himself and his son for, it appears, he was the means of its being extended to his contemporary, Inuō of the Hie group of Ōmi Sarugaku. (43)

Inuō so found favour with Yoshimitsu that, when he took a Buddhist name, he was granted the use of the first character of Yoshimitsu's own Buddhist name Dōgi and became known as Dōami (44). His ability was such that, like his friend Kan-ami, he developed his own individual style on the basis of what he had learned from Itchū and came to rank, with Kan-ami, as one of the two great Sarugaku players of the time. He died in 1413, at an age of over seventy (45), but the proudest moment of his long career must have been only five years earlier when, in the third moon, he was the main player in a Sarugaku performance at Kitayama before the emperor Go-Komatsu and his grandmother, the retired empress Shuken Mon-in, together with Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, then a monk, and his favourite second son Yoshitsugu (46). It was a worthy climax to his career, but he must often have been saddened in this period of his life at the thought that, while Dengaku had Zōami and Yamato Sarugaku had Zeamī, there was no one of similar stature in any of the groups of Ōmi Sarugaku who could

fill his place. It seems, in fact, that after his death his own Hie group was hardly able to continue, for the priests of the Enryaku-ji on Mt. Hiei issued a directive that Iwadō Tayū, the head of the Shimosaka za of Ōmi Sarugaku, should relinquish the use of the name Shimosaka and take instead the name Hie.(47) Iwadō appears to have had little merit, either as a player or a man. Although he is known to have performed in Kyōto(48), he does not figure prominently in lay records of the time and his performance is compared unfavourably with that of Inuō in the 'Sarugaku dangi'(49). This work describes his adoption of the name Hie as 'a regrettable affair'(50) and there was obviously no liking for the man among the Kanze players: his ostentatious behaviour at a subscription performance given by Zōami is contrasted with the quiet dignity of Zeami(51) and even some masks which Iwadō passed on to Zeami were handed on by him to the Hōshō group(52). As Kobayashi pointed out, Inuō was probably very close to Zeami, the eldest son of his lifelong friend, and an edge may well have been given to Zeami's natural dislike of Iwadō by the thought that, though it was the Ōmi player who had taken over the name made famous by Inuō, he himself was the true artistic heir of that great player(53).

Ill-feeling of this kind, or even unfriendliness, among Sarugaku and Dengaku players seems to have been very rare. Groups belonging to the same province - Yamato, for example - were, in any case, likely to be closely linked by marriage and

adoption, but the Writings make clear how much friendly intercourse there was between Sarugaku and Dengaku players of different groups and provinces. All were giving basically the same type of performance and, although the Sarugaku groups were free from competition within their own areas, all were contending for the patronage of the nobility. But the great players who figure in the Writings - Itchū, Kan-ami, Inuō, Kiami, Zeami and Zōami - were clearly on the most cordial terms, learning from one another, watching each other's performances, and comparing notes on styles and techniques. There are, of course, instances of dissension between different groups and, even, within a single group but, with very few exceptions, they were due to the ordinary strains and stresses which arise in any society and not to professional rivalry (54).

Zeami lived from 1363 to 1443 (55) and had a favourable start to his long life, both artistically and economically. The fourteen years or more of serious training in Sarugaku which he was able to receive from his father (56) must have equipped him with all the essentials of his profession and much of his father's artistry; and, for nearly thirty years after Kan-ami's death, he had an experienced and benevolent adviser in Inuō. Meanwhile, the favour of the shogun had given him both security and an opportunity to develop his taste and learning. It says much for Zeami's own character and for the attitude of mind imbued in him by his father that patronage in no way lessened the zeal with which he pursued the study of his art. From the recommendations about training

given in the 'Kadensho'[57], it seems that Zeami probably began his when he was six or seven. So far as is known, his first public performance took place at the Daigo-ji during the seven-day performance for which Kan-ami won such acclaim[58]. Zeami is said to have won as much praise on that occasion as his father although, as the performance took place in the few years before 1374, he may have been less than ten at the time. Then in 1374, as already mentioned, he appeared before Yoshimitsu for the first time and, no doubt having gone to Nara with his father to take part in the Kasuga Wakamiya Festival towards the end of the year, saw Kiami play in the traditional Dengaku performance on the night before the festival, when the players were presented with costumes[59]. There are few other accounts of his activities as a boy, but his performance of a Kusemai with words by the exiled Rin-ami, which led to Rin-ami's readmission to the favour of the shogun, is known to have taken place at some time during this period of his life.[60] The record of Zeami's attendance at the Gion Festival with Yoshimitsu in the sixth moon of 1378 shows that, at that time, he had still not taken adult status and would, therefore, still have been known as Fujiwaka. It must have been very soon after this, however, that he went through the coming-of-age ceremony and took the adult names of Saburō Motokiyo[61].

If the next period of Zeami's life is taken to extend from about the death of Kan-ami in 1384 to 1408, when Yoshimitsu died, it is mainly noteworthy for two things: the

beginning of the series of articles in which Zeami, by expounding the various aspects of Nō, attempted to codify his art for his successors (62); and a performance by Zeami which brought him his highest honour as an actor. The only writings of Zeami known to belong to this period are the seven sections which make up the work known as the 'Kadensho'. Although written between about 1400 and 1402, that is, sixteen to eighteen years after Kan-ami's death, it is described more than once by Zeami as consisting of the teachings of his father which had been passed on to him during his training (63). Like most of Zeami's other writings, it was intended as a secret document to be passed on only to a worthy successor. At the end of the last section of the 'Kadensho' (64), for example, Zeami explicitly states that that section was to be highly treasured in his house and was only to be passed on to one person in each generation; and that even an only son should not be given it if he was lacking in ability. Though not uncommon in artistic schools of various kinds in Japan at this time, such an attitude probably played a large part in the misfortune which befell Zeami later in life (65). Records of performances by him are not as numerous as might be expected but, in 1394, the year which closed with Yoshimitsu passing on the office of shogun to his nine-year old son Yoshimochi, Zeami accompanied Yoshimitsu to the Kōfuku-ji at Nara and appeared in a Sarugaku performance which had been organized there (66). In 1339 he was the main player in a great three-day subscription performance in Kyōto which was attended by many of the highest

nobility, including the young shogun[67]. Then, in the third moon of 1408, Zeami performed at Kitayama before the reigning emperor Go-Komatsu, Yoshimitsu, Yoshimochi, and other important personages a week before the similar performance by Inuō[68]. It was the first time the emperor had ever seen Sarugaku and his presence menat that Sarugaku had come a long way in the thirty years since it was described as the trade of beggars. For Zeami, being chosen for such an honour meant that his fortunes were at their highest. But this was not so for long: the performance must also have been the last occasion on which Yoshimitsu saw Zeami play for, in less than two months, the powerful protector of the Kanze leader was dead.

During the next twenty years, under the rule of Yoshimochi and, for two years of the time, his son Yoshikazu[69], Zeami did not enjoy the marked favour he had known previously and yet does not seem to have been positively oppressed in any way. Yoshimochi appears to have been sufficiently well disposed towards Zeami and his son in 1427 to make a special payment to Motomasa for performances at Kiyotaki no Miya at Daigo[70], but he seems generally to have preferred Dengaku to the Sarugaku of his father's favourites. The year of Inuō's death, which must itself have been keenly felt by Zeami, saw the first of the ten annual subscription performances by the Dengaku Shinza, most, if not all, of which were attended by the shogun. Although Yoshimochi also watched Sarugaku in Kyōto on numerous occasions, Zeami is not known to have taken part in any of these performances,

which were given for the most part by groups other than those of Yamato Sarugaku; and, on the one occasion when the shogun visited Nara and saw the four Yamato Sarugaku groups perform, he did not fail to see some Dengaku, with Zōami as the chief player, before returning to the capital (71). Zeami was only in his forties when Yoshimitsu died, and his absence from noteworthy performances thereafter should perhaps be taken as an indication of his estrangement from the shogun and his circle. The reason for this, if it did take place, is not known but the uneasy relations between Yoshimachi and his father point to the possibility of there having been a reaction against one who had been fondly patronized by Yoshimitau. As Nonomura points out (72), Yoshimochi's ill-feeling towards his father arose from jealousy of his step-brother, Yoshimitsu's second son, Yoshitsugu: while Yoshimitsu was alive, his undisguised preference for Yoshitsugu must have been a constant provocation to Yoshimochi and, after his death, Yoshitsugu's threat to the shogun's position was such that finally, in 1418, Yoshimochi had him killed, or caused him to kill himself, in the Sōkoku-ji - a temple which had been built, ironically enough, by their father. In these circumstances, it would have been only natural for Yoshimochi to have little liking for anyone who had been associated with his father - and, hence, with Yoshitsugu - as closely as the Kanze player. Zeami seems to have devoted his time after 1408 to training his sons, Motomasa and Motoyoshi (73), and to the complementary task of writing down his teachings on Nō. Most of his articles date

from this period, including the 'Nōsakusho', written for Motoyoshi in 1423, and the 'Kakyō', written for Motomasa in the following year (74).

These two sons of Zeami are the only ones about whom anything definite is known, and records of the Kanze house (75) clearly state that Zeami had two sons, Jūrō Motomasa and the younger Shichirō Jirō, and one daughter. Since Komparu Zenchiku is known to have been his son-in-law, there is no doubt about his having had a daughter, and it may also be that he had only the two sons who are now known. There are, however, one or two points which make this far from certain. In the first place, if Shichirō Jirō is taken to be the same person as Motoyoshi (76), the Mototsugu for whom Zeami made a copy of the last part of the 'Kadensho' in 1418 (77) remains to be identified. The name Mototsugu was made up of parts of the ordinary personal names Motokiyo and Kiyotsugu belonging to Zeami and Kan-ami respectively, and this, together with the fact that Mototsugu was being entrusted with a copy of the article at all, leave no doubt that he was someone very close to Zeami. The obvious person would seem to be his eldest son and, perhaps because of this, it has been suggested (78) that Mototsugu was an early name for Motomasa. But it is hard to see how Motomasa could have come to give up the honour of such a name, and it seems at least equally likely that Mototsugu was the eldest of Zeami's three - or more - sons. Another point, the use of the name Saburō in the first few generations of the Kanze house, lends some weight to this possibility.

Kan-ami, being the third son, had Saburō as one of his names and the fame he achieved led naturally to his eldest son Zeami taking the same name and to his second son being called Shirō. The normal practice would then have been for Zeami's eldest son to have had Saburō as one of his names, and for Shirō's eldest to have had Shirō as one of his. But the only people in the next generation of this group who have been found with the name Saburō are, doubtfully, Motoyoshi (79) and, without doubt, Shirō's eldest son, Saburō Motoshige, better known by his later name of On-ami. Even if the possibility that Zeami had an eldest son called Saburō (and, perhaps, Mototsugu) is ignored, doubts about whether records written in the 1420's meant Zeami, On-ami or even Motoyoshi by their references to Kanze Saburō, and whether they meant Zeami, Motomasa or On-ami by their references to Kanze Tayū, are liable to confuse the exact course of events during that period.

The problem can be illustrated by considering four of the relevant records: one of 1422, telling of a performance at the Kiyotaki no Miya at Daigo by Kanze Goro and Kanze Saburō (80); two of 1424, describing the appointment as gakutō at the same place of someone called Kanze Tayū in one record and Kanze Saburō in the other (81); and one of 1427, telling of a subscription performance by Kanze Saburō arranged by the priest Gien (82), who later succeeded Yoshimochi as shogun and then took the name Yoshinori. The Saburō in the 1422 record is not Zeami, who is mentioned in it as the lay monk (nyūdō) Kanze, and is therefore generally taken to be On-ami (83). Zeami's priesthood,

which is confirmed in the 'Sarugaku dangi'[84] as having begun by 1422 when Zeami was nearly sixty, is likewise generally taken as evidence that he had already retired from the front of the scene and had handed over the leadership of the Kanze group to Motomasa[85]. As for the record of 1427, the enthusiastic patronage On-ami received from Yoshinori leaves no room for doubt that, here too, he was the player referred to as Saburō. The 1424 records describing the same person as Kanze Tayū and Kanze Saburō, however, are not easy to reconcile, either with each other or with the above references to On-ami as Saburō. The first reaction to the record mentioning Kanze Tayū is to take it as meaning Motomasa, but he is not known to have been called Saburō. Moreover, the record which uses that name goes on to talk of three sons who are as skilled as their father and, as Japanese writers assume from this that it is the father who is called Saburō, Motomasa is, in any case, ruled out by his age at the time, and they are driven to conclude that the writer meant Zeami. Nose[86], therefore, understands the new gakutō to have been Zeami, despite his having handed over the headship of the group to Motomasa; and Kobayashi and others[87] are of the opinion that, although Saburō was intended to mean Zeami, the hearsay nature of the diary entry led to inaccuracy and that, in fact, the gakutō was Motomasa. It is generally agreed that the reference to the three children of Zeami was an understandable mistake, caused by the writer thinking that the young On-ami, who may well have appeared constantly with Motomasa and Motoyoshi, was likewise a son. It

seems wrong, however, to read the entry to mean that Saburō was the father of the three sons. The fact that Zeami is described in the same entry as 'the father, the lay priest Kanze Zeami' must be taken as showing that the previously mentioned Saburō is an entirely different person, and the entry should surely be understood to mean: 'Kanze Saburō of Yamato Sarugaku has been made the new gakutō. The three sons /of whom Saburō is one/ are all no less skilled than their father. Their father, the lay priest Kanze Zeami, still goes with them to instruct.' Which of the sons, then, was Saburō? The only possibilities seem to be Motoyoshi and Motoshige (On-ami), but there are good grounds for thinking that it could not have been either of them. For one thing, there is nothing to suggest that either of them was Kanze Tayū at the time in question. There is also a good deal of doubt about Motoyoshi having been called Saburō, and his own statement in the 'Sarugaku dangi' (88) that Motomasa was Kanze Tayū in 1429 makes it virtually certain that he himself could not have been leader of the group five years earlier. In the case of his cousin, the diary mentioning Kanze Tayū, the Manzai Jugō nikki, refers to Motoshige as Kanze Saburō so consistently elsewhere, in the 1422 and 1427 entries mentioned above and at later dates, that the writer appears to have deliberately avoided calling him Kanze Tayū until the death of Motomasa in 1432 left him in undisputed occupation of that office (89). Finally, Motoshige could not have been made gakutō at Kiyotaki no Miya in 1424 because it was only through the influence of Yoshinori that he performed

there independently in 1430 (90). With such compelling reasons for eliminating Zeami, Motoyoshi and Motoshige, only Motomasa remains. The sole reason for doubting that it was he who was appointed gakutō is the reference to him as Saburō, and all the other evidence points to this having been a mistake; a mistake, moreover, for which a reasonable explanation can be suggested: hearing that one of the young Kanze players had been appointed gakutō and knowing that one of the three 'sons' had the same name, Saburō, as Zeami himself, the writer of the diary in question assumed that he was Zeami's successor and the one who had, therefore, been given the post.

The general picture in the early 1420's is, thus, of Zeami having handed over the leadership of the Kanze group to Motomasa by 1422, and of him having treated On-ami like one of his own sons, with whom he seems to have frequently appeared. In 1427, however, On-ami was the main player in the subscription performance inspired by Gien, then a priest in the Shōren-in. It was, so far as is known, his first independent performance and the first sign of a patronage of formidable power. The beginning of the next year saw Gien, or Yoshinori as he came to be called, the ruler of Japan following the death of Yoshimochi (91). That same summer On-ami, now about thirty, performed in the palace of his patron supported by Jūni-gorō (92), a venerable Yamato Sarugaku player of seventy-five or so who, having good reason to be grateful to Zeami for both his professional advice and

personal kindness, felt it necessary to have a letter written to Zeami explaining that his unwillingness to perform with On-ami had finally proved of no avail (93). Despite its guarded language, this letter and Jūni-gorō's concern to explain his action - he called unsuccessfully to see Zeami twice before sending the letter - show that there was already a deep rift between Zeami and On-ami. Exactly how this came about is not known, but the cause was clearly connected with the sudden rise in On-ami's fortunes. Worse was to follow. In the second week of 1429 On-ami performed before the retired emperor in his residence (94). In the fifth moon there was a performance in which Motomasa and On-ami played the leading roles in the same play (95), but just how superficial this co-operation was can be seen from another record of the same performance which talks of 'the two groups of the /two/ Kanze Tayū' (96). This provides proof of what might have been assumed from On-ami's independent performances, namely, that by the beginning of 1429 On-ami was already at the head of a group of his own, distinct from the main Kanze group led by Motomasa. Within a fortnight of this performance the shogun had directed that Motomasa and Zeami were no longer to perform Sarugaku in the residence of the retired emperor who, as Go-Komatsu, had first seen Zeami at Kitayama more than twenty years before and who had since grown very fond of Sarugaku (97). The following year brought further encroachments by On-ami. In the first and sixth moons he again performed before the retired emperor, not, we are told, because the latter enjoyed his Sarugaku, but because the

performances had been arranged by Yoshinori, who was also present at them[98]. In the second moon he played in Nara after the religious Takigi Nō at the Kōfuku-ji[99] and, in the fourth, again because of the power of Yoshinori, he gave the annual performances at Daigo instead of Motomasa who had been appointed gakutō there six years earlier[100].

Yoshinori's policy of attrition against Zeami and Motomasa is explainable on purely personal grounds: since he had had no more liking than his predecessor for Yoshimitsu's favourite son Yoshitsugu, he probably felt some antipathy towards the Kanze pair from the beginning; and, when this was allied to a love for Motoshige, who was not in the direct line of succession to the leadership of the Kanze group, his behaviour after he unexpectedly came to power seems understandable enough. It is possible, however, that Yoshinori also had some political reasons for his harsh treatment of Zeami and Motomasa. Nonomura has plausibly suggested[101] that Motomasa may have been involved in the intrigues about the Imperial succession that were current at the time. The widespread feeling aroused when Yoshimitsu's successors disregarded the agreement by which he had united the factions supporting the two rival Courts in 1392 led to numerous plots and uprisings, and if Motomasa was suspected of any connection with the discontents, it would have provided another reason for, in particular, denying him access to the retired emperor.

It cannot now be proved that there was such a reason

for the shogun's measure, but the reaction in the Kanze house seems to indicate a fear that one would not expect to arise solely from a struggle against a rival Sarugaku group, however powerful its support might be. It is thought that, following his displacement at Daigo by Motoshige, Motomasa abandoned the struggle in Kyōto and retired with his group and, perhaps, Zeami, to Ochi in Yamato (102). Then, in the eleventh moon of the same year, 1430, Motoyoshi decided to enter the priesthood (103) and compiled the 'Sarugaku dangi' from everything he had heard and learned from Zeami so that the information should not be lost. When the document was completed he handed it on to someone, presumably Motomasa, with directions that he should burn it after reading in order to preserve the secrecy of its contents (104).

Time had thus brought a great change in Zeami's fortunes. His group had been reduced from the most celebrated in the land to a comparatively obscure country one which was met at every turn by the power of official displeasure, and one of his two sons had left Sarugaku altogether. Zeami himself, however, had said in his earliest work, the 'Kadensho' (105): 'Even if there should come a time when, through some irresistable twist of fate, a player who has won general recognition is set aside to some extent, it does not mean the end of his art provided that he does not lose the acclaim of country districts and far-off provinces; and so long as his art does not come to an end, it may yet again meet with general acclaim.' If this philosophy survived the years, he must have been sustained in his misfortune by his

faith in Motomasa's many talents.

Only two years later, in 1432, however, came the hardest blow of all, the death of Motomasa. There was no one ready to succeed him, and to Zeami, now nearly seventy, it seemed the end of all he had lived for. His feelings at the death of his son were expressed in the following poem:

'Never, in this world where I,
Like a buried tree, remain,
Did I think to see
Such a flower
Fall in its prime.' (106)

At the beginning of the 'Kōraika' (107) he set out more factually what the loss meant to him:

'The innermost secrets of our art, from the time when I received the teachings of my late father until the time of my son Motomasa in this my old age, had one and all been handed on, and I, Zeami, awaited only the last great event of my life; when, all unforeseen, the early death of Motomasa brought our line to an end and the whole of our group to its present ruin. His son is still a boy and, with none to receive this double bequest of our art /i.e., the teachings of Kan-ami and Zeami himself/, it only obsesses this old man beyond all bearing and stands between him and his great release. If a worthy man existed, I would entrust to him at least my part of the bequest, even though he were a stranger - but no such person is to be found in our art.'

On-ami, though highly skilled as a performer, had apparently been disowned entirely; and Zeami's son-in-law, Komparu Zenchiku, though an artist of promise, had not yet attained the stature which Zeami required in a successor (108). On-ami was thus left unchallenged in his position as Kanze Tayū and it is from him that the present Kanze line derives (109). Motomasa's reputation now depends on a small number of fine plays which he wrote, and his ten years as leader of the Kanze group have come to be ignored, for, in the genealogical tables of the Kanze house, he is passed over and On-ami is given as the third Kanze Tayū.

Old as he was, Zeami had still to face one final humiliation. In the summer of 1434 he was exiled to the island of Sado (110). There is a record which states that he defied Yoshinori by his preference for Zenchiku rather than 'his own son' (which can only have meant On-ami) (111), and the way in which he showed this was probably by refusing to recognise On-ami as Kanze Tayū and by witholding from him the secret writings of the Kanze group. A letter which Zeami wrote to Zenchiku during his exile (112) shows that the young Komparu Tayū gave what help he could at this time by sending Zeami money and sheltering his old wife (113). Zeami was pardoned after perhaps three or four years (114) through the intervention, it is said, of the famous priest Ikkyū-Oshō and the emperor Go-Hanazono (115). It is assumed that, until his death in 1443, he stayed either with his grandson, Motomasa's heir, or, a more widely held view,

with Komparu Zenchiku.

After the death of Motomasa the two greatest figures in Sarugaku were Kanze On-ami and Komparu Zenchiku, each the head of his group. Their abilities ensured that, after Zōami of the Dengaku Shinza disappeared from the scene, Sarugaku was never again seriously challenged by Dengaku. With no famous player to attract general popularity or the patronage of those in high places, this latter form wasted away until, in the Tokugawa period (1603 - 1868), it virtually disappeared (116). Similarly, the skill and prestige of the four main groups of Yamato Sarugaku was so outstanding that, in the course of the Muromachi period, the other Sarugaku groups in the provinces around the capital either disappeared altogether or, like the Umewaka group from Tamba, gained admission to one of the Yamato groups. In this way, these four groups came to stand alone on the field of Nō.

The greatest players of the early Muromachi period who are known by name and who have been mentioned above lived and worked with many lesser performers who were, for the most part, coarse and illiterate, and whose main concern, like others of their class, was to ensure a living for themselves in a cruel, uncertain and often hungry world. The patronage of the rich and powerful was attracted to Dengaku and Sarugaku groups by the exceptional players, and the effect it had on Nō and later Japanese drama through these players will be mentioned elsewhere. All that need be said of it here is that whereas, in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, patronage meant

the difference between extinction and survival for Dengaku and Sarugaku groups, in the century and a half before 1450 it meant, to the great majority of players, the opportunity to share in fame and lavish rewards, and only by the exceptional few was it seen primarily as both the incentive and the means to improve the standards of their performances. In either case, there could have been few who gave thought to the possible disadvantages and even dangers of patromage. Those who took their art seriously sometimes found their artistic and personal freedom limited by the demands made on them, and all who enjoyed favours based to some degree on the personal affection of the great ran the risk of suffering from their association when the wheel began to turn.

Notes To Chapter III.

1. See Chap.VII 212-8 below.
2. See Chap.VI below.
3. Entaireki, qtd. NG 371.
4. ibid.
5. 'SD', TZN 344.
6. Bk.5 'Sagami Nyūdō Dengaku o moteasobu', Yūhōdō bunko ed., vol.28, 124.
7. A type of square-necked robe, through the sleeves of which were threaded cords originally intended to tighten them at the wrist.
8. A type of hakama, which resembled very wide trousers or a long divided skirt.
9. Such a quip in 1335 is qtd. NG 1524 etc. For Takatoki's love of dog-fighting, see Taiheiki bk.5, Yūhōdō bunko ed., vol. 28, 126-7.
10. Taiheiki bk.27; see translation, Chap.VII 190 below.
11. Kenshun Sōjō guchū-reki nikki, qtd. NG 1524.
12. Itchū's dates are unknown, but as he was the teacher of Kan-ami, who was born in 1333, and yet Zeami, who was born in 1363, never saw him, he probably died between about 1355 and 1370. In any event, he was probably at his height during the second quarter of the 14th. century.
13. 'Kadensho', TZN 40 and 'SD, TZN 270. No record is known which states that Kiami learned from Itchū and his musical style

was said to be modelled on that of Ushikuma of Ōmi Sarugaku ('SD', TZN 270). But, since he and Itchū belonged to the same group, it is inconceivable that he did not learn from Itchū, especially as the latter was great enough to attract Sarugaku players to him. Kawase's reading of a sentence in the 'SD', TZN 357, would entail Itchū's having taught Zōami (of the Shinza) also; but as he was contemporary with Zeami, this is impossible (see ZJH vol.2, 639, for a more acceptable reading of the text).

14. 'SD', TZN 286-7. See Chap.VII 190-3 below on this performance.

15. 'SD', ibid. Yokoi, Zeami no shōgai 25, gives Ako as another name for Itchū, but presumably only on the grounds of the Taiheiki's reference to Ako as the leading sasara player of the Honza. Similarly, if the Dōa he gives as another player at this same performance is taken as a slip for Kia, the statement that he also took part could be correct as Kiami was probably in his teens in 1349, but nothing is known which mentions his participation.

16. 'SD', TZN 270.

17. ibid.

18. 'SD', TZN 341. Thus, Kiami was at first written 龜阿彌,

19. but it came to be more commonly written 喜阿彌.

19. These groups were known as dōbōshū. See Hayashiya, Kabuki izen 136-41 on them.

20. See Yoshikawa, Jishū ami-kyōdan no kenkyū for a full study

of the religious groups concerned.

21. 'SD', TZN 306.

22. ibid. 271.

23. ibid. 354.

24. ibid. 357-8 shows that some of the faults in his singing were acquired from Kiami.

25. ibid. 272.

26. ibid.

27. Representing young women, the best-known type is called Zō-onna. See Katayama, Kanze-ke denrai nōmenshū 18 etc.

28. See records qtd. under these years in NS 37-58. Four of these mention either the Shinza or Zōami himself and, since none mentions the Honza, it seems that they were annual performances by the Shinza alone.

29. Kaei sandaiki, qtd. NS 62.

30. 'SD', TZN 321 & 335.

31. He persuaded Kan-ami to dance the lead in Okina so that he should appear first ('SD', TZN 321). Little is known about Nan-ami, but he seems to have been a good friend to the Kanze players. See Chap.V,130 and n. 12, on him.

32. Go-gumaiki, qtd. NS 9.

33. See Kan-shi sedai ryakkei, qtd. Nonomura, Nōgaku kokonki 3.

34. His dates were at one time uncertain, but it is now clear from records that he died on the 19th. day of the 5th. moon of 1384 (Jōgakki, qtd. NS 11) in his 52nd. calendar year ('Kadensho', TZN 9).

35. In addition to the inherent likelihood of Kan-ami's use of the name being due to his joining the dōbōshū, he is described by this term in the genealogical tables of the Hōshō house, qtd. NG 647.

36. 'SD', TZN 341. If, as Nose says (ZJH vol.2, 580), sōsei means not 'early death' but 'death forthwith' in the relevant sentence, Kan-ami only abandoned his status as a priest a short while before he died.

37. 'SD', TZN 276.

38. ibid. 277.

39. See the Ryūgen Sōjō nikki, qtd. NG 697, on this performance, and Chap.V 129-30 below on the date of his adoption of Kusemai.

40. For example, by Kobayashi, NK 59.

41. See Chap.IV 110 on shōmonji. Since the records showing that Sarugaku players, like those of Kusemai, came under the shōmonji all belong to the 15th. century, the situation earlier may have been different.

42. Jōgakki, qtd. NS 10.

43. This is the assumption usually made from the friendship between the two since their youth and from Inuō's devoted monthly observance of the day of Kan-ami's death out of gratitude for his success in life ('SD', TZN 335). This assumption is almost certainly correct, but see n.44 below concerning an unsatisfactory development from it.

44. 'SD', TZN 341. Since Yoshimitsu did not take the tonsure

until 1395, however, the bestowal of part of his Buddhist name on Inuō presumably took place after this. If, as mentioned above, Itchū was introduced to Yoshimitsu's patronage by Kan-ami, who died in 1384, one would have expected him to take a Buddhist name and join the dōbōshū during the lifetime of Kan-ami. (Although there may have been some among Yoshimitsu's dōbōshū who did not take the tonsure, it is most unlikely that a lowly Sarugaku player like Inuō could have mixed with members of this group for eleven years or more without doing so.) Since there is no indication that the Buddhist name Dōami replaced an earlier one used by Inuō, it seems possible that a connection between the names Dōgi and Dōami was mistakenly assumed at some later date.

45. His death is recorded in the Jōgakki and Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NS 37, in terms almost of reverence (see NK 99-100). His exact age then is unknown, but he would have been 80 at his death if he had been born in the same year as Kan-ami.

46. Kyōgen-kyō-ki, qtd. NK 107.

47. 'SD', TZN 340-1.

48. ibid. 325-6.

49. ibid.

50. ibid. 341.

51. ibid. 346.

52. ibid. 338.

53. NK 108. See also Chap.XI 340 concerning Inuō's artistic influence on Zeami.

54. The conflict between Zeami and On-ami outlined below was essentially a dispute over succession and not a matter of rivalry between players. Almost the only 'professional' dispute known to have taken place in the period under consideration arose from rivalry among the Yamato Sarugaku groups for the honour of performing the first 'god-piece' (waki-nō) at ceremonies in Nara (see Chap.VI 176-7 below).

55. Although these dates are now well established, they are not in accord with the traditions of the Kanze house. The latter, however, are clearly wrong; see, for example, NK 125-6.

56. The 'Kadensho', TZN 2, recommends that training should begin from about the 7th. calendar year.

57. TZN 2-9. For translations of this and the other parts of the 'Kadensho', see Whitehouse and Shidehara, Monumenta Nipponica 1941 vol.4 and 1942 vol.5; and Benl, Seami Motokiyo und der Geist des Nō-Schauspiels 25-93.

58. Ryūgen Sōjō nikki, qtd. NG 697.

59. See Chap.VI 173-4 below.

60. 'SD', TZN 296.

61. Judging, for example, from the practice of transferring boys of the Komparu group into the adult groups of the za when they reached their 15th. calendar year. In a chronological table of Zeami's life, Yokoi enters his gempuku under 1377

(Zeami no shōgai 282) but he himself quotes the above record of 1378 which shows that Zeami had not gone through the ceremony even then. See Chap.V 130 concerning the relevance of Zeami's gempuku to the date of the adoption of Kusemai.

62. Because they were sixteen in number when they first came to light in 1909, these articles were called the 'Zeami jū-rokubushū' (or, according to the pronunciation current at the time, the 'Seami jūrokubushū'), and it is by this name that they are still usually known even though their number has now grown to over twenty. Their names, in chronological order so far as this is known, are as follows.

(1) 'Fūshi kaden' (usually known as the 'Kadensho'), in 7 sections: 'Nenrai keiko jōjō'; 'Monomane jōjō'; 'Mondō jōjō'; 'Jingi'; 'Ōgi';'Kashū'; and 'Besshi kuden'. 1400-2.

(2) 'Nō no jo-ha-kyū no koto', 1418.

(3) 'Ongyoku kowadashi kuden', 1419.

(4) 'Ongyoku goi', 1420.

(5) 'Shikadō', 1420.

(6) 'Nikyoku santai ezu', 1421.

(7) 'Nōsakusho', 1423.

(8) 'Kakyō', 1424 (an early draft of this, called the 'Kashū', had been written as early as 1418).

(9) 'Kyoku-zuke no shidai'.

(10) 'Fūkyokushū'.

(11) 'Go-ongyoku jōjō'.

(12) 'Go-on'.

(13) 'Ongyoku no uchi ni mutsu no daiji'.

(14) 'Yūgaku shūdō fūken'.

(15) 'Yūgaku geifū goi'.

(16) 'Kyūi' (or 'Kyūi shidai').

(17) 'Rikugi', 1428.

(18) 'Shūgyoku tokka', 1428. (Before the discovery of a Tokugawa-period copy which indicates that the original had a colophon with this date, followed by Zeami's seal, this work was generally attributed to Zenchiku, and the question ofthe authorship is still not finally settled.)

(19) 'Shūdōsho', 1430.

(20) 'Zeshi rokujū igo Sarugaku dangi' (usually contracted to 'Sarugaku dangi'), 1430. (This work was not written by Zeami, but consists of his teachings as recorded by his son Motoyoshi.)

(21) 'Museki isshi', 1432.

(22) 'Kōraika' (also known as the 'Zeshi shichijū igo kuden'), 1433.

(23) 'Kintōsho', 1436.

For accounts of these articles, see Kobayashi, Zeami 181-236; NG 733-47 and ZJH passim; TZN intro.1-62 etc.

63. 'Kadensho', TZN 33 & 44-5, and 'Kakyō', TZN 161.

64. TZN 68.

65. See Komiya, 'Nō to hiden', Nōgaku zensho vol.1, and Basho-Zeami-hiden-kan; and Nose, 'Chūsei ni hiden kaden no umareta no wa naze ka', Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kanshō 1952 no.8, on the custom of secret writings and their transmission. See Nishio, 'Zeami no shōgai to Sado', Chūsei-teki na mono, for a good account of Zeami's rise and fall.

66. Kanenobu-kyō-ki and Kasuga gyokei-ki, qtd. Kobayashi, Zeami 35-6, NK 133, and NS 24.

67. Geiyō-ki, qtd. ibid. 37, 134 & 32 respectively.

68. Kitayama gyokō-ki and 'SD', qtd. ibid. 48-9, 140 and 34-5 respectively.

69. Yoshikazu was appointed shogun in 1423, but on his death two years later the office was again taken over by Yoshi-mochi and held by him until his death on the 18th. day of the 1st. moon of 1428.

70. Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NS 69 and NG 721.

71. ibid., qtd. NS 43 and 44.

72. Nōen nissho 6-7.

73. See Ryūgen Sōjō nikki, qtd. NG 719 and Kobayashi, Zeami 64. This record presents problems concerning the identity of its 'Kanze Saburō' and 'three sons' (see pp. 75-8), but these do not affect its reference to Zeami's occupation with teaching.

74. See TZN 125 and intro.29 respectively.

75. Kan-shi kafu, qtd. NG 748, and genealogical tables qtd. Nonomura, Nōgaku shiwa 253 etc.

76. There is at present no good reason for not following Nonomura (Nōgaku kokonki 42)etc. in this, on the basis of the Kanze genealogical tables. Kobayashi (Zeami 68-9), however, suggests that a Kanze Gorō mentioned in a record of 1422 may have been Motoyoshi.

77. See TZN 68.

78. For,example, by Kawase, TZN 68 n.5.

79. Saburō is shown as one of Motoyoshi's names in genealogical tables given by Nonomura, Nōgaku shiwa 253 and in the Geinō jiten 688; but since the authority for this is not known and Kobayashi (Zeami 64), for example, was unaware of it, it can only be accepted with hesitation.

80. Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NS 57, NG 718, and Kobayashi, Zeami 68.

81. Manzai Jugō nikki and Ryūgen Sōjō nikki respectively, qtd. NG 719-20 and Kobayashi, Zeami 64.

82. Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NS 70, NG 722, and Kobayashi, Zeami 71.

83. By Nose, NG 718; Kobayashi, Zeami 69 etc.

84. TZN 343.

85. By Nose, NG 719; Yokoi, Zeami no shōgai 433 etc. The same passage in the 'SD' also suggests thia by making it clear that, at the time, there was more than one player who might be referred to simply as'Kanze'.

86. NG 720.

87. Zeami 64-6, followed by Yokoi, Zeami no shōgai 135.

88. TZN 345.

89. As mentioned below, his reference to the 'two za of the Kanze Tayū' in 1429 (qtd. NG 724 and NS 76) apparently meant the groups of Motomasa and Motoshige - in which case it is not strictly true to say, like Yokoi (Zeami no shōgai 152), that the title is first found applied to On-ami in 1433 - but Manzai Jugō did not refer to Motoshige alone as Kanze Tayū while Motomasa was alive. As head of the Daigo-ji, Manzai Jugō could not have been unconcerned at the appointment of a new gakutō, and it is understandable that, as the cousin of Yoshimitsu, he should have looked askance at the rise of Motoshige and lamented the exclusion of Zeami and Motomasa from performances before the retired emperor (see below).

90. Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NS 84 and NG 726.

91. It was not until the 3rd. moon of 1429, however, that he was officially appointed shogun.

92. Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NS 71-2 and NG 724.

93. 'SD', TZN 333-4. Jūni-gorō was also known as Jūni Gon-no-kami. Although illiterate, he was skilled as a player, especially in devil roles. Zeami had recommended such roles to him, written suitable plays for him and, in 1408, arranged for him to share the honour of performing before the emperor at Kitayama.

94. Manzai Jugō nikki and Sakkai-ki, qtd. NG 726 and 727.

95. Kennai-ki, qtd. NG 724-5.

96. Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NG 724 and NS 76.

97. ibid., qtd. NG 725 and NS 76-7.

98. ibid., qtd. NG 727 and NS 80-1 and 85-6.

99. Records of the Kasuga Shrine, qtd. NG 726.

100. Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NG 726 and NS 84 and 85.

101. Nōgaku shiwa 40-5.

102. This is the general view, but Nose (NG 755-8) thinks that the Ochi Kanze group only began with Motomasa's son. One reason for his view is that, in 1432, Zeami and Motomasa performed in the shogun's palace at the same time as the private Sarugaku group of the Hosokawa house. Nose sees this as an indication that, with support from some of the great lords, the Kanze pair may have continued to spend at least part of their time in the capital as instructors to such groups.

103. His intention to do this is indicated by the last lines of the 'SD', and the fact that he did so is shown by his own reference to his priesthood in the 'Shiki shūgen' (qtd. Nonomura, Nōgaku shiwa 56-7). He may, however, have returned to lay life and joined the Ochi group with his son as a taiko player (see NG 756-7 and Tanaka, Yoza yakusha mokuroku 184-5).

104. TZN 353.

105. TZN 44.

106. 'Museki isshi', TZN 252.

107. TZN 253.

108. ibid.

109. This led to later Kanze records seeking to give a moral basis to On-ami's succession by suggesting that the headship of the group came to him only after Zeami's relations with Zenchiku had led, first, to Motomasa's withdrawal to Ochi and, later, Zeami's exile (see below). The story is, however, pure invention (see Nonomura, Nōgaku kokonki 45-6; Kobayashi, Zeami 93 etc.). Motoyoshi refers to a disagreement involving Zenchiku in the 'Shiki shūgen' (qtd. NG 729 and Nonomura, Nōgaku shiwa 56-7 q.v. on this question), but its cause and the other person concerned are uncertain.

110. See Yoza yakusha mokuroku and Kan-shi kafu, qtd. NG 729 etc., and the beginning of the 'Kintōsho', TZN 257.

111. See Tanaka, Yoza yakusha mokuroku 29 and qtn. NG 729. Later records, probably following a variant text of the Mokuroku (see Tanaka, ibid. n.31), took the writer to be referring to Motomasa and inserted his name in the text - but, in fact, he had died two years before.

112. Qtd. Kobayashi, Zeami 95-6; Kawase, Zeami jihitsu denshoshū 154-5; and Yokoi, Zeami no shōgai 163-4.

113. The person referred to as Juchin in the letter was presumably Zeami's wife or, at least, some other close dependant. For discussion of Zeami's movements while in Sado, see Nonomura, Nōgaku kokonki 71-84 and Nishio, 'Zeami no

shōgai to Sado', Chūsei-teki na mono 176-9.

114. The date of his return from Sado is not known, but as the 'Kintōsho' is dated the 2nd. moon of 1436, it was later than that. Kawase, Zeami jihitsu denshoshū intro.22, thinks that the colophon of a copy of the 'Kakyō' indicates that Zeami was still on Sado in 1437, but this is not yet generally accepted.

115. Yoza yakusha mokuroku and Kan-shi kafu, qtd. Nonomura, Nōgaku kokonki 52-3.

116. The statement in the Bun-an Dengaku Nō-ki (cntnd. in Gunsho ruijū series 1, vol.19 bk.363), written in 1446, that 'Recently the Shinza has been flourishing and the Honza in decline...' shows that the Honza was in a feeble state by the middle of the 15th. century. Although superficially stronger, the Shinza produced no great artist after Zōami and was probably still benefitting from the momentum of his prestige and popularity.

CHAPTER IV

Kusemai.

The characters 曲舞 with which the word Kusemai came to be normally written were used of at least three different forms of entertainment which flourished at different times in Japan (1). The earliest use was in connection with some of the Bugaku dances which originated in China. Then, in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the characters indicated one of the many popular song forms which was found particularly around Kyōto and Nara. Finally, in the sixteenth century, they came to be used of the performances commonly known as Kōwaka-mai.

The most important of these, in final effect if not in itself, was the second, for it was this form which Kan-ami studied and adopted into Nō with far-reaching results. It is thus only this second type that will be considered here. The sources of information about it are very restricted. Any traces of Kusemai as an independent entertainment have long since vanished and there are almost no detailed records extant. The information that is to be had must be pieced together from the accounts Zeami gave in his Writings, the forms of Kusemai remaining in Nō, passing references in a handful of diaries and the like, and a comparison with what is known about Shirabyōshi performances, with which Kusemai were closely connected.

It is not known exactly when Kusemai arose, but

the absence of any mention of the name in a list of other similar entertainments in a work of the period 1293-8[2] is sometimes taken to indicate that this had not happened by the end of the thirteenth century. An entry in a record of 1349 mentions Kusemai as having been given at a Buddhist celebration in 1318[3]. The inclusion of Kusemai in a performance at that date may be an anachronism, but it does at least show that, when the entry was made in 1349, they must already have lost any tinge of novelty and may, therefore, have been in existence for a decade or more[4]. There is also a record which, in addition to mentioning Kusemai under the year 1350, had in 1343 referred to something simply as mai 'dance'[5]. As this word is not infrequently found elsewhere to mean Kusemai, it may well have been used in the same meaning there. In any case, the performances may be said, from the evidence available, to have arisen in the first half - perhaps in the first quarter - of the fourteenth century. The popularity which they won in the second half of that century, when performances were given by at least five different schools of players in the area around Kyōto and Nara, was not enduring enough to carry many true Kusemai players in that region through the first half of the next: Zeami's statement in the 'Go-on'[6] that only one of the five groups still existed means that, by about 1430, traditional Kusemai players must largely have disappeared from the provinces round the capital.[7]

The name Kusemai implies dances (mai) which were peculiar and unconventional (kuse)[8]. The peculiarity of the

performance lay not so much in the dance itself as in the music, and when the character kyoku 曲 became the one most commonly used to write the first part of the name Kusemai (9), there was no doubt full appreciation of the play on the meanings of this character for, as well as 'crooked', 'bent', it can also signify 'melody'. The unconventional nature of the music of Kusemai and the punnings use of the first of the two characters with which Zeami wrote the name are evident from his 'Ongyoku Kowa-dashi kuden' (10): 'Since Kusemai evolved from their own particular line, there are points in which they are strikingly different from plain music (tada-ongyoku). Thus it was that, even in the name, "dance" (mai) was added to "music" (kyoku/kuse). Although they come under the general name of music, it will be realised from the fact that their name is written "music-dance" that they have a distinct musical style ..... Because the beat is the main element in Kusemai, the word "dance" (mai) was added to "music" (kyoku/kuse) . They were therefore called Kusemai'. Other references indicate that the novelty of Kusemai music was sufficient to earn for the entertainment its rather disparaging name. Zeami mildly observed that Kusemai 'have a musical style that is different from the normal one ' (11), but the Go-hokoin-ki (12) was more emphatic in saying 'The beat in the dance defies description, being strange in the extreme'; and Imperial disapproval is recorded in the following words: 'The retired Emperor Go-Komatsu summoned a Kusemai dancer called Yohachi and had her dance before him. Having listened to her three or four times, he

summoned her no more, saying that it was the music of an age of turmoil. Later, sure enough, there came the Akamatsu troubles.'[13]

If the music of Kusemai was considered unusual when it first arose, one of the most universally accepted forms of musical entertainment at the time was that known as Shirabyōshi. Yet the close similarities that existed between Shirabyōshi and Kusemai, and the fact that they are often mentioned together in works of the Muromachi period, leave little doubt that the one stemmed directly from the other. Because of their closeness, what is known about Shirabyōshi provides a useful background against which to set the detailed references to the later Kusemai[14].

In view of the unconventional nature of Kusemai in comparison with Shirabyōshi dances, it is interesting to find that the latter had also suffered criticism from some quarters on a similar score. Fujiwara Moronaga, a twelfth-century noble, is quoted[15] as saying: 'It is ever the way in the houses of China to learn the state of the country by watching the dances and listening to the songs. Now there are dances here called Shirabyōshi. One listens to the music and finds that, of the five, it is in the key of shō. This is the key of a nation in ruins. One looks at the dances and finds that they consist of a dancer turning round with head held up to the sky. Such a sight is very painful. They are unpleasing dances, in both music and movement.' But the years brought respectability to Shirabyōshi,

the above remarks having been made in the early part of their long history.

Moronaga lived from 1137 to 1192; and other records enable the beginning of Shirabyōshi to be put back to about the middle of the twelfth century. Two kindred works which were written about the end of that century, the Heike monogatari (16) and the Gempei seisuiki (17), state that the dances were first performed by two women called Shima no Chitose and Waka no Mae in the time of the retired Emperor Toba, who died in 1156. The statement in a work of the third quarter of the twelfth century (18) that Fujiwara Michinori, who died in 1159, concerned himself with the dances of dancing girls goes to corroborate the account in the Tsure-zure-gusa (19) that it was Michinori who originated Shirabyōshi by teaching a woman called Iso no Zenji some Bugaku dances which particularly appealed to him. Thus, although the stories vary, the period given is the same in all cases.

The name Shirabyōshi, literally 'white beat', was used equally of the dancers and of the dances themselves, and although it has been explained in a number of ways, the most likely derivation is the one given, for example, by Takano (20). He suggested that the name arose because the accompaniment to the dances used used a 'plain, ordinary beat' (21) like that called shirabyōshi in Buddhist chanting (shōmyō) and tada-byoshi in Bugaku, and that it came to be used also of the dances given to such a beat and of the people who gave them. But an early

explanation of the name was prompted by the characteristic white dress of the dancers. The Heike monogatari, for example, follows its mention of how Shirabyōshi arose by saying, 'In the beginning, the dancers wore suikan[22], upright eboshi[23] and, at the waist, a short sword[24] decorated with silver; because of this, the dances were called men's dances. Later, the eboshi and sword were discarded and only the suikan used. Thus it was that they came to be called Shirabyōshi.' The Gempei seisui-ki gives much the same account but states that the main garment was a hitatare[25] at first and that this was replaced by suikan and hakama[26] after the eboshi and short sword fell into disuse. The Tsure-zure-gusa also describes the dress of the dancers as being white suikan, short sword and eboshi. It makes no mention of the last two being dispensed with, however, and although an illustration in the Shichijūichiban shokunin uta-awase[27], a much later work of the period 1504-21, does in fact show a Shirabyōshi dancer without headgear of any kind, it seems doubtful if the eboshi was simply abandoned once and for all at some time before the Heike monogatari was written. Evidence against this includes the fact that Kusemai performers wore eboshi and presumably followed Shirabyōshi in this as they did in the rest of their costume. And, in Nō plays such as Funa-Benkei and Dōjō-ji, eboshi are not only worn by the players representing Shirabyōshi but are also mentioned in the texts as part of their dress. It is hardly to be believed that eboshi were used, discarded, brought back into use and discarded yet again, as the records would indicate if

taken chronologically and at their face value, and it may be that, in omitting the eboshi, the sixteenth-century illustration was following some very much earlier one or was, perhaps, influenced by the accounts in such works as the Heike monogatari. In any case, the main point is that Shirabyōshi dancers, who were so overwhelmingly women that the name was used to mean a dancing-girl, dressed as men for their performances and thereby provoked the same strange pleasure that has been felt at this masquerade by the audiences of entertainments ranging from women's Kabuki and Takarazuka-style revue in Japan to pantomime in England. In the case of Shirabyōshi, there was probably at first a further novel attraction in that the performers danced as well as sang, whereas women entertainers had previously only sung (28).

The early sixteenth-century illustration mentioned above shows the Shirabyōshi dancer sitting with a fan in her hand and a drum by her side. Other records amply bear out the obvious conclusions from this, namely, that the performer carried a fan while dancing and that the drum was the main instrument. The importance of the drum also suggests that it was the beat or rhythm rather than the melody that was the essential element in the accompaniment to the dance. This is supported by mentions of Shirabyōshi stamping during their dances and by the fact that, more often than not, performances are described as being 'counted' instead of 'danced'.

Although Shirabyōshi performances naturally under-

went changes in the course of four hundred years or so, their basic characteristics seem to have remained the same. Among the descriptions of comparatively early performances, one text of the Heike monogatari (29) states that, when Hotoke Gozen performed before Kiyomori, she first sang an imayo (30) three or four times. Then, to the accompaniment of a drum, she performed a dance for him, towards the end of which she sang a waka as she moved around stamping time. Another passage in the same work tells how Senju, another Shirabyōshi dancer, also sang rōei (31). The accounts in the Gempei seisui-ki are much the same, but they use, in connection with Shirabyōshi, the words seme, a term still found in Nō, for example, to indicate quick tempo, and issei (32), a short introductory song form also used in Nō; and one text of the work (33), referring to Hotoke's dance before Kiyomori, states that the rambyōshi (34) lasted about two hours. The impression that the dances were in two parts, the second being the faster, is confirmed in other works. The Futsū shodōshū (35), written in the late thirteenth century, states: 'Shirabyōshi - at first, when the dancer enters, her impressive appearance delights the eye. Later, when she moves around stamping her feet, the wonderful sound of her voice amazes the ear.' Then, too, the Akizuki monogatari (36), a story of the middle Muromachi period (c.1475), tells how the second and quicker part lasted about one hour. Although late for Kusemai performances, this period still numbered Shirabyōshi among its entertainers (37) and other works dating from then provide further information about them. The Gikei-ki

and the Kōwaka dance Shizuka, for example, show that the instruments used then were drums, cymbals and flute, that all kinds of songs were used in addition to imayō and rōei, and that the first and last songs were usually ga no uta, 'auspicious songs'[38]. The use of cymbals as well as drums can be taken back to at least the late thirteenth century, as they were mentioned then in the Azuma kagami[39]. The very brief account of Shirabyōshi performances given by Zeami in the 'Nōsakusho'[40] shows that the form recommended by him for use in Nō was fairly complete but lacked the diversity of songs known to have been present later. He said that players representing Shirabyōshi should sing a waka, an issei, and then a song in the third key[41] to an eight-beat rhythm, after which they should tread a fast, urgent dance (seme) until leaving the stage.

To sum up, Shirabyōshi dancers carried fans and wore men's costume in the form of suikan, hakama and, at least in certain periods, eboshi. The beat being the most important element in the dances, the usual instrument was the drum, accompanied subsequently by cymbals. Only later, probably not before the middle of the fifteenth century, was the flute used to provide melody. The performance consisted at first of an introductory song followed by other songs of various types accompanying a dance. This was sometimes a lengthy affair lasting an hour or more and was in two parts, the second of them in a quick tempo marked by stamping. At some later date it became usual for the introductory and concluding songs to be auspicious, congratulatory

ones. The complete performance can therefore be said to have followed the sequence of introduction, development and climax (jo-ha-kyū) in having an introductory song, a two-part dance as the development section, and then a final song.

Although they were popular entertainers, Shirabyōshi dancers often performed for the nobility and won their patronage. A number of women dancers became the consorts of men of high rank, particularly in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (42). The retired emperor Go-Toba, for example, was married to a former Shirabyōshi, and the rich estates he bestowed on another are said to have been one of the causes of the disturbances in 1221. Some members of the Fujiwara family likewise had Shirabyōshi as wives or mistresses, and among the liaisons between these women and members of great warrior families, the most famous is certainly that of Shizuka Gozen and Minamoto Yoshitsune. In brief, a woman Shirabyōshi dancer was both entertainer and courtesan, the geisha of her day.

It is difficult to discover the exact social standing of Kusemai players, but the little evidence there is suggests that it was low. After the popularity of Shirabyōshi declined from the heights it had reached in the early Kamakura period and the patronage of the nobility became rarer, the dancers themselves became just one of many different types of popular entertainer, and there is no reason to suppose that those who gave a kindred form of entertainment like Kusemai would have enjoyed any higher

social position. Also, in the fifteenth century, some, if not all, Kusemai performers came under the authority of shōmonji[43], low-class lay priests whose traditional line was divination but who also engaged in such quasi-religious ceremony as the recitation of sutra at certain popular festivals and, from the early 1400's, in the performance of Kusemai[44]. Shōmonji were no more than lowly servants of temples, though the authority they derived from their connection with them seems to have enabled them to maintain some control over the other various entertainers living in the locality. But their control was probably tenuous, especially over Shirabyōshi and Kusemai performers, who were not usually organized into za dependent on a particular temple[45], and the patronage of persons of rank would have been sufficient to supersede it altogether. Kusemai dancers often performed before members of the nobility and sometimes won such patronage, though not so frequently as Shirabyōshi had done in their heyday. In 1409, for example, Higo Shigemitsu, a relative of the shogun Yoshimitsu, took with him on a visit to the Kurama-dera a number of his friends and two women Kusemai dancers of the Kaga group and gave the latter presents of clothes and money[46]. But Kusemai and Shirabyōshi did not occupy a fixed position on a clearly marked social scale. As professional entertainers they stood very largely outside the normal relationships, and the chances of high favour which their work brought them meant that their conditions of life varied from the very humblest to ones of ease and wealth in which they mixed with people of the highest rank on familiar, if not equal, terms.

Apart from shōmonji groups, Kusemai were perpetuated by lines of players which, to judge from Shirabyōshi, Sarugaku and the like, were no doubt family lines in the main. In the 'Go-on'(47) Zeami states: 'True Kusemai consists of Kamiedō, Shimo-dō, Nishi-no-take, Tenjiku and the Kaga women(48). (Otozuru. My late father learned from this line.) Kaga, in Nara, is said the have come down from the Hyakuman women's Fushi-Kusemai(49). Kusemai dancers have now all disappeared, leaving none but the followers of Kaga of women's Kusemai. It is this house /which performs/ Kusemai on the floats at the Gion Festival.' But if, by about 1430, the five groups of traditional Kusemai players known to Zeami had dwindled to only one, Kusemai or modified forms of them continued to be given by Sarugaku players and shōmonji, and by true Kusemai players in areas away from the capital where the dances no doubt had less competition from other entertainments. In 1427, for example, shōmonji and young boys from the province of Settsu performed Kusemai in Kyōto(50), and as late as 1466 an admirable performance is said to have been given there by players from the province of Mino(51). This group, about a dozen in number, consisted of men, women and boys, and the fact that Zeami referred to only one of the five groups he named as 'women's Kusemai' also indicates that, even among true Kusemai players, women were not as predominant as they were among Shirabyōshi. The Shichijūichiban shokunin uta-awase, moreover, represents a typical Kusemai dancer by a drawing of a man(52). It therefore seems that, although the existence of women players is

now somewhat better known - probably because one of them, Hyakuman, is represented in the Nō play of that name, and another was Kan-ami's teacher - the Kaga line to which these two players belonged was unusual in consisting solely of women. But this may have been a factor in the survival of this line, for performances by women were probably much more popular than those by men. This certainly seems to have been the case in 1466, for on that occasion the women and boys carried out the main part of the programme while the men merely gave the opening piece.

One of the reasons for the lesser popularity of the men must have been that, when they wore the characteristic dress of Kusemai dancers, it did not have the appeal it did when worn by women and, to a lesser extent, by boys. That is, it was men's dress and essentially the same for all Kusemai players, irrespective of sex or age. The record of the performance in 1427 (53) states that the boys wore suikan, ōguchi (54) and upright eboshi, and the men hitatare and ōguchi, the same costume as that worn with an eboshi in the Uta-awase illustration. The costume of women dancers is also known to have been suikan and ōguchi (55). The use of eboshi by women Kusemai performers may also be assumed from their use among other Kusemai players and Shirabyōshi and in performances of Kusemai in such Nō plays as Hyakuman and Utaura. The Uta-awase drawings show the Kusemai dancer carrying the same type of fan and having the same kind of drum by his side as the Shirabyōshi. The continued importance of

the drum in Kusemai is easily understandable from what is known of the music (56), and the unfailing use of a fan by Kusemai performers is mirrored even now in Nō plays, where the dancer always carries a fan during the kuse section.

Kusemai performances must have consisted mostly of minor public ones on the varied occasions when a worthwhile audience could be found. Kusemai were regularly performed on floats forming part of the procession in Gion ceremonies in Kyōto and other places (57), but such performances were seldom recorded, being usually of no particular importance and an accepted part of the scene. Like Sarugaku and Dengaku, Kusemai were also given in the private mansions of the nobility and at big subscription performances open to all classes on payment of fixed entrance-fees (58). On occasions, Kusemai subscription performances were on a scale to match those of Sarugaku and Dengaku. One, in 1466, is on record as having been performed for seven consecutive days before audiences of four or five thousand people (59). But mentions of this type of performance are rare, and it seems clear that this was because Kusemai were too limited in scope and lacked sufficient richness and variety of content. It was probably in an attempt to overcome this that combined Kusemai were sometimes given by two, or perhaps more, players (60). To judge from such combined dances in Nō, these performances did not lead to any division of song or dance between the participants but consisted simply of the players singing and dancing the same piece in unison. This is also what the story of the Nō Mai-guruma would lead one to expect.

In this play a man and woman, estranged by her parents, meet again by chance while performing a combined Kusemai at a Gion ceremony in the province of Tōtōmi.

The combination of song and dance found in Shirabyōshi also existed in Kusemai where the fusion was perhaps more complete (61). But there can be no doubt that, in Kusemai at least, the song was more important than the dance, and the music of the song more important than the words. The music was, in fact, the most distinctive part of a Kusemai performance. Some mention has already been made of its novel musical style and of its dubious reception in some quarters, and Zeami was at pains to point out in his Writings that it was quite different from the traditional musical style of Sarugaku. This Sarugaku style was known as ko-uta-bushi, being based on the songs known as Ko-uta, or, more expressively, as tada-utai 'plain song', 'true song' and tada-ongyoku 'plain music'. The 'Ongyoku kowadashi kuden' (62) contains a good account of the musical characteristics of Kusemai and of the way in which these differed from the Sarugaku style:

'The difference between Kusemai and plain music is that, since Kusemai are sung with the beat as the main consideration, the words are carried along by the beat and, like the passage from one line to the next, count for very little. The fact that they are caught up in the beat, moreover, leads to corruption of the sound here and there. In spite of this, however, the style sounds consistent and is very attractive to hear. Because of the

attractive quality of the beat, even the parts where the words are slightly corrupted sound as if they are in the same consistent style. This is how the Kusemai style sounds. Plain song has no adornment from the beat and is sung in a completely straightforward way. The sound of the words, therefore, is quite unobscured. Thus, the framework of the music is revealed and from the sashi-goto and tada-kotoba through each line to the end, attention is held and minds made easy as singer and audience are of one heart, in keeping with the feeling of the piece. This is true feeling.'

The last part of this quotation suggests that Zeami is rather on the defensive in setting out the qualities of the traditional Sarugaku Ko-uta style, but his remarks on its characteristics are useful as indications of what the Kusemai style lacked. From the 'Sarugaku dangi'(63) we learn that 'Plain song has melody as its basis', and that 'Plain music is, in its beauty, the acme of perfection in the way it fits the song.' But Kusemai, far from putting the music to the words in a similar way, forced the words into the musical framework marked out by the beat. There is also reference in the 'Sarugaku dangi'(64) to the effect this had on performance: 'In Shigehira the setting of "Koko zo Embu no Nara-zaka ni"(65) is unsuitable for a Kusemai. It is Ko-uta melody. Since it is a Kusemai, the sound should be carried along and altered. When the word Kakurete from the passage "Ashi no hawake no tsuki no kage, kakurete sumeru Koya no ike" in the Kusemai Saikoku-kudari was sung with the feeling which inspires

the lines, Nan-a said "Alter the sound still more, if it is a Kusemai tune", and so the present setting came about.' It appears from the 'Kyoku-zuke no shidai'[66] that, at least on some occasions, this alteration of the sound took the form of syllables being omitted altogether: 'Again, there is what is called a "fading voice" which consists of omitting the syllable which comes at the end of a sentence or line and passing on to the next line. In this the breath is deliberately allowed to escape in the middle of a syllable. This means that with the next breath a syllable is lost. It is a style found in Kusemai, for example.' That this very marked beat and weakness in melody sometimes led to monotony is revealed elsewhere in the Writings[67]: 'One feels that the Kusemai Tōgoku-kudari is perhaps a poor piece. It has too much in the same style. Nan-amidabutsu was skilful at melody but with too much repetition of the tune it is said nowadays that it is women's Kusemai[68].' With its novel emphasis on rhythm at the expense of melody and the great changes which this was to bring to some of the traditional styles of music, Kusemai has been aptly described as the jazz of its day[69]. The importance of the beat can hardly be overemphasized for, in addition to Zeami's statements, the irregular, prose-like texts of Kusemai also indicate that the 'singing' was probably little more than recitative, the words being chanted in a way similar, perhaps, to that of the Heike reciters.

What is known about the titles and texts of pure Kusemai pieces is best discussed in connection with the use of

Kusemai in Sarugaku. But it can be said here that, so far as can be seen, many of the early Kusemai had religious subject-matter. Taishi, for example, dealt with Shōtoku Taishi, the great early champion of Buddhism in Japan, and the existence of other pieces about him is shown by Zeami's description of it: 'Music by my late father. This is one of the old Fushi-Kusemai telling the story of Taishi. The author is unknown.'(70) Jigoku, another early Kusemai(71), was also Buddhist in content, and Shirahige, the first Kusemai written and set to music by Kan-ami, told the story of the Shirahige Shrine. Although a preponderance of religious material did not, in any case, long survive the stablishment of a connection with Sarugaku, Shirabyōshi songs are known to have included long, prose-like pieces on such subjects as shrines, temples and gods(72), and it may well have been these that influenced early Kusemai. The structure of Kusemai is mentioned by Zeami in several places in his Writings. In the 'Nōsakusho'(73), for example, he states that the second of the two parts of a Kusemai should be in a quick, urgent tempo, and in the 'Sarugaku dangi'(74) says that a Kusemai should be in two parts and should begin and end with a shidai, a type of short song still used in Nō(75). The structure, therefore, closely resembled that of the Shirabyōshi performance in having short sung pieces before and after the main dance section which was itself in two parts, the second in quick tempo(76). Indeed, the only obvious difference between the two was probably the character of the music.

A less obvious difference concerned the types of song to which the performers danced. Whereas, in the main, Shirabyōshi danced to various kinds of short popular songs, Kusemai players presented a more sustained and unified narrative piece. This may possibly have led to Kusemai developing a slightly different style of dancing from that of Shirabyōshi, one which had moved away from pure dance to embrace more descriptive movement. No evidence has been found for this, however, and the truth is that next to nothing is known about the kind of dance that was performed. In his explanations of Kusemai, Zeami dealt almost entirely with the musical side of the entertainment and never gave details about the dance as such. When he did mention the dance, it was always in relation to the music, especially the beat, and all we are told is that 'Since one stands and dances Kusemai, the beat forms their basis'(77); and that 'The reason why the beat plays the most important part in Kusemai is because the performance consists of dance and song.'(78) Although, in the beginning, the dance was presumably important enough to give the performance its name and the music its characteristic of very marked rhythm, to Zeami it was no more than a minor element in comparison with the music. It is true that the verb most often used with Kusemai in the Writings is mau 'dance', but this does not necessarily mean that the danced part was the predominant element in the performance. Given the name Kusemai, the most natural verb to use in connection with it would be mau. What is of greater significance, therefore, is the fact that on a number

of occasions Zeami goes out of his way to use instead the verb utau 'sing'. This, together with Zeami's laboured explanations of how the name Kusemai arose, has even led to the conclusion that the performances contained no dance at all (79). The above remarks by Zeami and other mentions of a dance in contemporary writings (80) show clearly enough that there was some kind of action by the performer which could best be described as 'dancing'. But, in the absence of any detailed comment, in the Writings, there is no reason to think that the dance consisted of anything very elaborate. It is likely that it was akin to the seme dance found in Shirabyōshi performances and that, with the stamping and turning done in time to the music, its main function was in practice to accentuate the rhythm which provided the main attraction in the performance. This would explain, perhaps, why Zeami described Kusemai in one place (81) as being 'something which one stands to sing. It is music which arises from one's actions.'

Notes To Chapter IV.

1. For literary evidence of these various uses, see Toda, 'Kusemai no kenkyū', Engekishi kenkyū vol.2, 20-1.
2. Futsū shodōshū, qtd. Nose, 'Nō no senkō geijutsu', Nōgaku zensho vol.2, 60.
3. See NG 705.
4. Nose, NG 706-7, sought to verify the 1318 date by working back in time along a line of Kusemai performers, but the number of them concerned is unknown and there is no reliable evidence to be had from this.
5. Diary kept by priests of the Gion Shrine, qtd. Iwahashi, Nihon geinō-shi 53.
6. TZN 217. Although the date of this work is uncertain, it is thought to have been written in the late 1420's.
7. Kusemai continued to be given by other performers and in other areas, however. (See below.)
8. This use of kuse, either as a separate word or as a prefix, is to be found in works written as early as the beginning of the 11th. century (see Toda, op.cit. 20-1), and was not uncommon as a prefix in the Muromachi period, being used in Nō plays and in the Writings themselves. It is there most commonly found in the expressions kuse-mono (see Sanemori, Tori-oi-bune and TZN 224 and 271) and kuse-goto (see Tōei, Aisome-gawa, Adachigahara and TZN 331).
9. See Iwahashi, op.cit. 45, for various other ways in which the

word was written. When he did not use kana, Zeami always used the character 曲 to write the word kuse, but as the Manzai Jugō nikki spelt it phonetically with Chinese characters in an entry for 1427 (qtd. NS 70), there was evidently no universally accepted way of writing Kusemai at any rate by the first half of the 15th. century.

10. TZN 72-3.

11. 'Kyoku-zuke no shidai', TZN 174.

12. Qtd. NS 289.

13. Tōyashū kikigaki, qtd. Toda, op.cit. 32.

14. For good accounts of Shirabyōshi which include most of the literary references given below, see Toda, op.cit. 25-32; Ogata, Ōchō engei-shi 292-346; and Iwahashi, op.cit. 36-44.

15. Zoku kojidan vol.2, given in Gunsho ruijū series 1, vol.27 bk.487, 651-2.

16. Bk.1 'Giō', Yūhōdō bunko ed., vol.25, 11-2.

17. Bk.17 'Giō, Ginyo, Hotoke no Mae no koto', Yūhōdō bunko ed., vol.26, 551.

18. Bunkidan bk.2, qtd. Toda, op.cit. 26.

19. Sec. 225. See Ogata, op.cit. 293-306, for discussion on the origins of Shirabyōshi in which he suggests that the characteristic pieces probably derived from such Bugaku dances as Manshūraku and Goshōraku.

20. Nihon kayō-shi 278-9. See also Ogata, op.cit. 298-9.

21. Cf. the use of the term shiragoe in connection with the chanting of the Heike monogatari where it means a 'natural intonation' more or less as in speech; that is, with no musical

tune superimposed.

22. A high-necked over-garment, usually white in colour; a type of kari-ginu.

23. Eboshi was the general term for various types of ceremonial caps worn by men of rank.

24. Sayamaki; this had no handguard, but the scabbard was bound round with cord. The ends of the cord were tied round the thigh to prevent the scabbard lifting when the sword was drawn.

25. An over-garment similar to a suikan except that, instead of buttoning up to the neck, it crossed at the front to give an open, V-shaped neckline.

26. A garment like wide trousers or long, divided skirt.

27. Contained in the Gunsho ruijū series 1, vol.30 bk.563, The illustration in question, however, is reproduced in a number of places, including Nihon bungaku daijiten vol.4, 126, and Toda, op.cit. 24.

28. According to Nose, 'Nō no senkō geijutsu', Nōgaku zensho vol. 2, 46-7.

29. Bk.1 'Giō ga koto', the Takano text qtd. Toda, op.cit. 27-8.

30. A type of popular song which arose about the middle of the Heian period (794-1191) and lasted on into the 16th. century. See Ogata, op.cit. 216-91, and Iwahashi, op.cit.19-36.

31. Bk.10 'Senju', Yūhōdō bunko ed., vol.25, 479-80. Rōei were poems written in Chinese which were set to music; see Iwahashi, op.cit. 10-9.

32. The term is also used in the song given beside the illustration of a Shirabyōshi in the Tsurugaoka hōjō-e shokunin utaawase, qtd. Iwahashi, op.cit. 41. For uses of seme and issei in the Gempei seisui-ki, see Yūhodō bunko ed., vol. 26, 556, and vol.27, 479, respectively.

33. Nanto-bon, qtd. Toda, op.cit. 30.

34. Thought to derive originally from Bugaku, this dance seems to have been closely associated with Shirabyōshi, at least in the early Muromachi period: it is often connected in Nō plays with roles representing Shirabyōshi, and Kan-ami is said to have been taught the rambyōshi formerly danced in the Nō Higaki by the spirit of a famous Shirabyōshi dancer (Jikkansho, qtd. Nonomura, Nōgaku kokonki 12-3). To judge from the form still found in Nō, the dance consisted mainly of slight movements of the feet in time to drum-beats at long intervals. Because of its difficulty, it is now found only in the play Dōjō-ji, but it used to be performed also in Higaki, Sōshi-arai Komachi and Sumiyoshi-mōde (see Kobayashi, 'Nō no buyō', Nōgaku zensho vol.4, 53-4).

35. Qtd. Toda, op.cit. 28.

36. ibid. 30.

37. It is not certain when Shirabyōshi disappeared, but Iwahashi, op.cit. 43, thinks that it was probably at the beginning of the Edo period.

38. Toda, op.cit. 29-30. Although the flute was no doubt used

in the Muromachi period, the Azuma kagami makes no mention of this instrument in describing the same performance by Shizuka as the Gikei-ki. See Ogata, op.cit. 299.

39. Ogata, ibid.

40. TZN 115.

41. According to Toda, op.cit. 53 n.22, it is not altogether certain that the phrase sanjū no seikyoku refers to a song at a certain musical pitch; but see ZJH vol.2, 619-20.

42. See Iwahashi, op.cit. 36-7.

43. See, for example, Iwahashi, op.cit. 62, and Nose, 'Nō no senkō geijutsu', Nōgaku zensho vol.2, 61. But no evidence has been found for such a relationship before the 15th. century and it may be that control of Kusemai performances by shōmonji arose only after they began to be given by shōmonji themselves and that their control did not extend to true Kusemai players. On shōmonji, see CBG 118-24; and Morisue, 'Chūsei jiin-nai ni okeru shōmonji no kenkyū, Nihon shūkyō-shi kenkyū, which was, however, unavailable to me.

44. CBG 118-20 and Hayashiya, Kabuki izen 114-8.

45. In the 15th. century there were za of shōmonji who specialized in Kusemai, but they were temple dependants who took over the performances and not true Kusemai players in origin.

46. Kyōgen-kyō-ki, qtd. Iwahashi, op.cit. 54. See below on the Kaga group.

47. TZN 217-8.

48. From what follows and from the reference to the Kaga Kusemai dancers given above, it seems that, when Zeami was writing, Kaga was the general name for a line of players rather than the name of a particular person, otherwise known as Otozuru, as has been generally assumed. It is interesting to note in this connection the existence of Shirabyōshi with the name of Kaga (see Iwahashi, op.cit. 44). In view of there being two priestesses called Kaga and Otozuru at the Kasuga Shrine in 1349 (see App.2,385), it is also tempting to seek some connection between them and the Kusemai players. While such a connection is not altogether impossible, the difference in status between the two groups makes it unlikely without further evidence.

49. The traditional style of Kusemai as opposed to the later, modified kind.

50. Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NS 70.

51. Go-hōkōin-ki, qtd. NS 289-90.

52. The figure has generally been taken by Japanese writers to be that of a woman, but Toda (op.cit. 33) assumed it to be male and a comparison with the drawing of the woman Shirabyōshi dancer accompanying it shows that this is so.

53. Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NS 70.

54. A long, stiffened divided skirt; a type of hakama.

55. Zoku-shigūshō, qtd. Toda, op.cit. 33.

56. See below, pp. 114-6 .

57. See 'Go-on', TZN 217-8 and the Daigeki shikaki, qtd. NS 5;

and the Nō Mai-guruma. The text of this play, which is not in the present Nō repertoires, is given in the Yōkyoku hyōshaku vol.5, and in a short article in the periodical Kanze 1956, vol.23 no.5.

58. The Manzai Jugō nikki (qtd. NS 70), for example, tells of a private performance in the Myōhōin in 1427 and of a kanjin performance at the Kiyomizu-dera two years earlier.

59. Go-hōkō-in-ki, qtd. NS 289.

60. ibid.

61. According to Nose, 'Nō no senkō geijutsu', Nōgaku zensho vol.2, 61.

62. TZN 74.

63. TZN 294 and 291.

64. TZN 294-5.

65. Shigehira is thought to be connected with the discarded play Kasa sotoba, the line quoted being found in the kuse section of that play.

66. TZN 175.

67. 'SD', TZN 358.

68. This description of the piece probably signified that it was more in the traditional Kusemai style than was usual at the time. As has been seen, the Kaga house of women performers was the last traditional Kusemai group in the Nara area.

69. NK 64.

70. 'Go-on', TZN 215.

71. In the 'Go-on', TZN 218, Zeami stated that Jigoku was used

in the Nō Hyakuman. But the line quoted does not occur in the present text of the play nor in the Nō Uta-ura which contains Jigoku as its kuse section. See Chap.V below on the kuse in Nō plays.

72. The Tsure-zure-gusa, sec. 225, says that Shirabyōshi 'sang of the lives of the gods and Buddhas'. See also Iwahashi, op.cit. 41.

73. TZN 115.

74. TZN 295.

75. It consists of two lines of 7 and 5 syllables which are then repeated and followed by two more lines, usually of 7 and 4 syllables. So far as can be seen now, however, the second shidai in a Kusemai did not repeat the first couplet. The question of whether the term shidai as used by Zeami meant the same as it does in Nō today is discussed below, Chap.V, 138-40.

76. The scale and internal structure of the pieces to which this framework was applied remain a problem, however. See Chap. V, 138 , below.

77. 'SD', TZN 294.

78. 'Kyoku-zuke no shidai', TZN 174.

79. YSK 22. Kobayashi did not repeat this, however, in his account of Kusemai in his later NK 59-64.

80. See, for example, the quotation from the Go-hōkōin-ki on p. 102 above.

81. 'Ongyoku kowadashi kuden', TZN 73.

CHAPTER V

Kusemai And Sarugaku.

Kan-ami, the head of the Kanze school of Sarugaku, took the trouble to learn the Kusemai style of music and introduced it into his own performances. Zeami told how 'In earlier times Kusemai were a distinct line of their own and were not widely sung. But as they have been sung in more recent times in a softened form, with a mixture of Ko-uta style, they have a very great appeal indeed. Because it sounds so attractive, the style of Kusemai has now become all the rage. This music is now enjoyed everywhere because my late father sang Kusemai in Sarugaku Nō. The first was the music of the Kusemai Shirahige.'(1) Zeami's statement that his father learned Kusemai from one Otozuru, a member of the Kaga women's group in Nara, has already been mentioned but it is corroborated by the remark in the 'Sarugaku dangi'(2) that 'Kan-a was skilled at setting pieces to music. His style was that of Otozuru.' One reason that has been suggested for Kan-ami's choice of teacher is that, if the style of women Kusemai performers was less harsh than others, he may have had the foresight to acquire mastery of one of the less extreme styles of Kusemai(3). While this may be so, it seems equally possible, since the Kaga group was located in Nara, that Otozuru was the most convenient teacher for Kan-ami and may, in any case, have been well known to him personally.

There is no direct reference in the Writings to the

date of Kan-ami's study and adoption of Kusemai, but the period during which they took place can be narrowed down to some extent. In the 'Go-on'[4] Zeami lists five Kusemai played in Sarugaku and then says, 'The above are the Kusemai dating from the Ōan era [1368-74] to the Shitoku era [1384-87].' Since Shirahige was the earliest Kusemai presented in Sarugaku and is one of the five in the list, it is clear that, unless Ōan no koro yori is given the unlikely interpretation of 'from but not including Ōan', the adoption took place between 1368 and 1374. Some writers[5], however, have thought that, since Kan-ami would have had more leisure for the study of other forms of entertainment after he won the patronage of Yoshimitsu in 1374, Zeami meant only the last full year of Ōan, that is, 1374, by his reference to that period. As Nose points out[6], that would be rather strange, and the reputation Kan-ami had already acquired before 1374 was perhaps itself largely due to his successful use of Kusemai. Furthermore, it would have been quite possible for Kan-ami to have studied under a local teacher in Nara at any stage in his career when he was living in Yamato and, inasmuch as the interest of the shogun must have led Kan-ami to spend some of his time with him in Kyōto, it would, if anything, have made such study more difficult than before. The date of the beginning of Yoshimitsu's patronage, therefore, adds to, rather than detracts from, the possibility of Kan-ami's interest in Kusemai having shown itself first during the years 1368-74. In any case, it can be shown that, although Kan-ami died in 1384 at the comparatively early age of fifty or

fifty-one, it was not in the closing years of his life that this happened. In the first place, Nan-ami[7] set to music Kusemai written after Shirahige[8] and he died in the third moon of 1381[9]. Also, the story told in the 'Sarugaku dangi' about the writing of Tōgoku-kudari 'The Journey Down To The Eastern Provinces' enables the latest possible date for the adoption of Kusemai to be taken back still more to about 1378. It says of Rin-ami[10], the writer of the Kusemai in question: 'Having displeased Rokuon-in[11], he journeyed down to the eastern provinces and, after some time had passed, wrote the Kusemai of that name. During the time that Zeami was called Fujiwaka, he was made to sing it. Thereupon, the shogun asked who the author was and he was recalled.'[12] Now Fujiwaka was Zeami's child-name which would have been used of him only before he went through the coming-of-age ceremony. If it is assumed that he had done this by the end of 1378, his sixteenth calendar year[13], it follows that Rin-ami had written Tōgoku-kudari before then and that Kan-ami's work on Kusemai had begun still earlier. In short, his first presentation of Kusemai in Sarugaku probably took place between 1368 and 1374, and was certainly not later than 1378.

Having mastered the Kusemai style, Kan-ami wrote the piece called Shirahige and gave it during a Sarugaku performance[14]. It was common then, as it is still, for Sarugaku players to add variety to their performances by giving short songs and dances as well as the main items of Nō and Kyōgen

plays[15], and this was no doubt Kan-ami's only object in performing Kusemai at all. There is nothing to show that he had any far-reaching plans for giving Kusemai a permanent place in the Sarugaku repertoire or for effecting a merger between the two styles of music. Indeed, the two styles were at first kept quite separate. Zeami explained that 'Sarugaku was wholly in the Ko-uta style, with Kusemai quite distinct. But ever since Kan-a sang the Kusemai Shirahige in Sarugaku, both styles have been sung. Since it consists only of a rising and falling /of the voice, ours/ is not a thorough-going Kusemai style, for it has been softened down.'[16] As might be expected, the earlier pieces were nearer in style to original Kusemai than were those written later, although the modification to which Zeami referred in the above quotation appears to have been present, at least to a slight extent, from an ealy date. In the 'Go-on'[17] he says, 'Thus, although Shirahige, Yura no minato and Jigoku are within Sarugaku, they are just like true Kusemai', but adds in a note to Yura no minato[18] which, judging from its position in the list, was only Kan-ami's second venture at writing Kusemai, that it was the first piece to be set to Kusemai music with an atmosphere of elegant beauty. The modification of Kusemai music within Sarugaku continued, and Tōgoku-kudari and Saikoku-kudari, which were written by Rin-ami and set to music by Nan-ami and Kan-ami respectively, were unequivocally described as being in a softer musical style than true Kusemai[19]. Kusemai intended for performance as separate items continued to be written by Sarugaku players until well into the

fifteenth century[20], and these later pieces were no doubt given musical settings that were less and less like the early, true Kusemai style. The traditional type of Sarugaku music was also changing at the same time: 'Now, when the Kusemai style of singing is softened and approaches that of the Ko-uta, people are not aware of the gradual change in the music. The dances themselves have a mixture of Ko-uta music, and the Ko-uta have something of the Kusemai style.'[21] Thus, within Sarugaku, both types of music were continually changing by the partial assimilation of a new element, the Kusemai style on the one hand and the Ko-uta on the other. The result was a variety of styles within each, depending on how much emphasis had been put on the one side or the other. Zeami's warning in the 'Sarugaku dangi'[22] that 'Kusemai should be sung as Kusemai and various forms distinguished even within Ko-uta' shows that the two always had for him distinct musical characters of their own. There were some people who were less discerning, however, for in the 'Go-on'[23] he laments that 'With all and sundry merely amusing themselves with music, there is no one who even knows the difference between the quality of voice used for Kusemai and that for plain song.' But this did not prevent him from approving of the definite blend of the two forms which came to be known as 'Ko-uta-bushi Kusemai', Ko-uta-style Kusemai: 'Nowadays there are often heard Ko-uta-style Kusemai, which are Kusemai in the style of plain song. This is a style of graceful and elegant beauty.'[24]

What of the reactions of the Kusemai players to this extensive use of their art ?. It is likely that, at first, they sought to profit from it by using the material written by Sarugaku players. When, in the 'Go-on' (25), Zeami mentioned Rin-ami's Tōgoku-kudari and Saikoku-kudari immediately after the three earlier Kusemai and said of these two pieces that they were not given by players of true Kuesmai, he thereby implied that the other three were. There is, indeed, no reason to suppose that they were not, for it would have been natural for players of the minor entertainment to take advantage of the wider popularity their art was enjoying by using pieces written by outsiders, especially when the music was in their own traditional style. When it was not, as in the case of Rin-ami's two works, they held aloof until the necessary compromise seemed to offer the only chance of avoiding complete extinction. That is, at least, once conclusion that could be drawn from an apparent contradiction in the Writings: namely, that although the 'Go-on', as mentioned above, stated that Tōgoku-kudari and Saikoku-kudari were not performed by true Kusemai players, the 'Sarugaku dangi' (26) recorded that the latter piece had been taken over and performed by them. It therefore seems that the uncompromising attitude of the numerous Kusemai groups mentioned by Zeami played some part in their gradual disappearance until, at some time after about 1430, their remnants had no choice but to offer their audiences the style of music that was proving so popular in Sarugaku. Even that could not make good the decline, but, all unknown to

them, their art had had a far more profound and lasting effect by its adoption into Sarugaku than it could ever have had as an independent form.

The names of more than a dozen Kusemai written for use as independent items in Sarugaku performances are known from the Writings, but perhaps no more than three of them can claim to have survived without having been preserved in some form within Nō plays. These are Tōgoku-kudari[27], Saikoku-kudari and, possibly, Taishi[28]. Almost without exception, the Kusemai current in Sarugaku were absorbed into, or in many cases, made into, Nō plays. In their present form, some of Kan-ami's plays contain Kusemai or, as they have come to be called when occurring with Nō plays, kuse[29]. But in view of the frequency with which plays were amended[30], it is impossible to say with certainty whether they were put there by him or, what comes to almost the same thing, whether Kusemai were ever used in Nō plays during his lifetime. But the quotation in the 'Go-on'[31] of a line from a piece called Ri Fujin, which was set to music by Kan-ami, proves to be the same as the beginning of the sashi preceding the kuse in Zeami's play Hana-gatami. Ri Fujin is not described in the 'Go-on' as a Kusemai, and if it were a Nō play, like most of the pther pieces quoted there that are not so described, this would be some indication that Zeami used in his own play the kuse section from Ri Fujin and, therefore, that kuse were used in plays before the death of Kan-ami. From the time of Zeami, at any

rate, they came to be used so extensively in Nō plays that, of the two hundred and forty or so in the present repertoires, only seventy do not have a section of this kind (32). Some kuse sections - the one common to the plays Jinen koji and Tōei, for example - are quite unconnected in content with the plays of which they form part and are therefore thought to be closely based on Kusemai current at the time the plays were written. In most cases, however, the kuse contain the main account of the story of the play itself, so that either they must have been written specially for the plays like the other sections in them, or the plays were built around original Kusemai (33). In addition to the kuse sections in Nō plays, all the present-day schools of Nō have a number of short songs, which, being of especial musical merit, are used as solo pieces and known as Kusemai ar Rankyoku, according to the school (34). There are a number of collections of these pieces dating from the first half of the seventeenth century onwards (35), but since they consist almost entirely of kuse sections taken from plays, they are seldom of use on the question of the original form of Kusemai and are sometimes positively misleading (36).

It is not to be expected that Kusemai should have been used in Nō plays without their original form being frequently modified. But among the approximately one hundred and seventy kuse in the plays of the present Nō repertoires, to say nothing of those in plays no longer performed, there must clearly be some which preserve very closely the original form of the independent

Kusemai from which they derived. In deciding which these are, the two or three Kusemai thought to be extant in their original form and Zeami's statement that Kusemai began and ended with a shidai and were in two parts (ni-dan) should provide useful evidence. On examination, however, the problem is far from straightforward.

In the first place, kuse vary very widely in their structure[37]. The most complete form of the whole kuse section consists of shidai, kuri, sashi[38], the kuse proper (a longish song by the chorus, in the course of which the shite interpolates two short lines known as the ageha), and, finally, the first shidai repeated. This form with two ageha is known as a two-dan kuse, but no more than four plays have it in its complete form; another has it complete except that it contains only a one-dan kuse (that is, there is only one ageha); and five have the two-dan kuse itself but are deficient in some respect in the other forms.[39] More than ninety-five, or well over half, of the kuse in Nō have no shidai and consist only of kuri, sashi and one-dan kuse. The remainder have kuse sections in even more abbreviated forms. Secondly, two of the three Kusemai thought to exist still in their original form have structures different from anything found elsewhere and from what Zeami described: Tōgoku-kudari consists of kuri, sashi, kuse with two ageha, sashi and kuse with four ageha; and Saikoku-kudari consists of sashi, kuse with three ageha, sashi and another section with three ageha. Finally, Zeami's descriptions of the structure of Kusemai are open to several

interpretations. It is not always certain, for example, what type of Kusemai he had in mind, since he applied the same name to the independent form, both within and without Sarugaku, and to kuse within Nō plays. Talking of the construction of Nō plays in the 'Nosakusho'(40), for example, he recommended certain numbers of lines for 'Kusemai', that is, kuse, consisting of kuri, sashi and a one-dan kuse. Then, immediately after a reference to Hyakuman and Yamauba in the same work(41), he mentioned that Kusemai should have two parts (ni-dan), the second of which should be a quick tempo, and again made it clear that he meant the form within a Nō play. He presumably also meant this when, in the 'Sarugaku dangi'(42), he said the same thing and added that a Kusemai should begin and end with a shidai. But, on the face of it, the above references are contradictory. Hyakuman and Yamauba do not have kuse sections consisting only of kuri, sashi and a one-dan kuse; and shidai forming part of a kuse section are to be found in only a handful of Nō plays and in none of those with texts still existing in Zeami's own hand(43). And if it is said that Hyakuman and Yamauba are special cases in that their kuse sections are intended as representations of actual Kusemai performances and that their use of shidai to begin and end their kuse sections therefore indicates that this was the structure of true Kusemai, one is immediately faced with the difficulty that none of the three extant 'reliable' Kusemai has shidai at all. Further difficulties arise from doubts about the meaning of terms used by Zeami. His statement that Kusemai

began and ended with shidai and had two dan is more often quoted than discussed, but Toda, who is one of the very few writers to consider the question of the structure of Kusemai in any detail, raised the question of what exactly he meant by shidai and dan.(44) Shidai, he suggests, may not have had the limited sense it has in Nō today, but may have meant some musical form or a kind of introductory song of no fixed length. And ni-dan, he points out, has at least three possible interpretations: it may have meant a kuse with two ageha, the same, that is, as what is now known as a ni-dan kuse; or the sections before and after one ageha in what is now known as an ichi-dan kuse; or two large-scale sections forming one long piece as in Tōgoku-kudari and Saikoku-kudari. In view of the range of possibilities which these doubts open up and the wide variation among the forms of Kusemai as now known, Toda concluded that a decision about the original structure of Kusemai would have to await new evidence.(45)

While it is true that no conclusion on this point can as yet be wholly certain, a reasonable decision does seem possible on the available evidence provided that allowance is made for some exceptional cases whose existence is inevitable because Kusemai are now usally found only in mutilated forms. First, however, some of the outstanding points mentioned above must be resolved. The most important of these concerns Zeami's accounts of the structure of what he described as Kusemai. What exactly he meant by the term ni-dan is not easily determined, but it can be said that he used the word shidai to mean the same short

song of three couplets that is found in Nō today under that name. The lines he quotes under the heading shidai in the Writings (46) and in his own handwritten Nō texts (47) leave no doubt of this. Then there is the broader question of Zeami's accounts themselves. He uses the name 'Kusemai' of the items given by the traditional Kusemai players, of the pieces given as separate entertainments within Sarugaku, and of the derived section within a Nō play now called the kuse. Since there would have been no object in his describing the composition of a form completely outside Sarugaku, he must, strictly speaking, have had either Sarugaku Kusemai or kuse in mind when he was describing the Kusemai structure; but the former can confidently be taken as identical with true Kusemai, for it would have been pointless for Sarugaku players to modify the usual Kusemai structure in pieces intended to be given independently. Examination of the Nō texts extant in Zeami's own hand (48) shows that not one of those with a kuse has a shidai as part of that section, and it can therefore be safely assumed that he did not intend the full Kusemai structure to be applied to the ordinary run of kuse in Nō, and that he disposed of this section of a Nō play by his account of the kuri, sashi, and one-dan kuse form in the earlier part of the 'Nōsakusho' (49). Hyakuman and Yamauba, which are mentioned just before the later 'Nōsakusho' account of the structure of Kusemai to which they conform (50), can therefore be looked on as exceptional cases in that it was intended to represent true Kusemai within those plays. This, moreover, is hardly invalidated by the absence of shidai in 'reliable'

Kusemai since Tōgoku-kudari and Saikoku-kudari were, I suggest, not Kusemai at all in their written form. Their length alone sets them apart from any other known Kusemai or kuse and, even allowing for the doubt about the meaning of ni-dan as used by Zeami, they vary from his account of the Kusemai structure by having no shidai either at the beginning or end[51]. Tōgoku-kudari was written while Rin-ami was in the eastern part of Japan, and was put to music by Nan-ami in the capital. These circumstances add greatly to the likelihood that what Rin-ami wrote merely as a poetic description of his journey was put to music by his friend in a Kusemai style. Because the venture was successful, the sister piece written later was set to music by Kan-ami in a similar way. The composers of the music could provide kuri, sashi and kuse sections from the texts as these were distinguished by different styles of music and singing, but the shidai, which consisted of a definite metrical arrangement, had necessarily to be omitted. Although Zeami refers to these two pieces elsewhere in the Writings by the term Kusemai, the way in which he talks of them in the 'Go-on'[52] lends weight to the view that they were characteristic of Kusemai only in their musical setting. Unlike the other three pieces making up the five he lists there as the Kusemai written between the Ōan and Shitoku eras, the two in question do not have 'Kusemai' or 'Fushi-Kusemai' as part of their titles. And when Zeami went on to say that the two pieces '...tada Rin-a sakusho to shite, Nan-a Kanze no fushi-zuke nari', he surely intended the otherwise puzzling 'tada'[53] to give the meaning

that they were 'just writings /i.e., not real Kusemai/ by Rin-ami which were set to music by Nan-ami and Kan-ami.' Finally, the alternation of lines of seven and five syllables in these two pieces, with only occasional variation, is by no means usual in kuse, which are notoriously irregular (54), a further indication that they were not intended in the first place as Kusemai.

Having eliminated the stumbling-block of the two pieces by Rin-ami and established that, according to Zeami, Kusemai contained the known form of the shidai, it is possible to gather together three groups of pieces, each of which should contain some with forms close to that of original Kusemai. The first group consists of kuse with shidai at the beginning and end, as Zeami laid down, or, allowing for some shortening when the Kusemai form was used in plays, with one shidai only. The second consists of kuse which can be shown to have been based on Kusemai mentioned in the Writings and which are therefore likely to be closer to the original form of Kusemai than passages written only as kuse sections for Nō. And the third consists of kuse which were intended to represent performances of Kusemai within the plays themselves (55). If there are pieces which qualify for inclusion in more than one group and these show some uniformity of structure, the form they present can reasonably be taken as the nearest it is possible to get at present to the original form of independent Kusemai. The three groups contain the following pieces:-

Group I: Nō plays with kuse containing shidai.

Hyakuman	- shidai,	kuri,	sashi,	2-dan kuse,	shidai.
Kakitsubata	- " ,	" ,	" ,	" ,	" .
Utaura	- " ,	" ,	" ,	" ,	" .
Yamauba	- " ,	" ,	" ,	" ,	" .
Tōgan koji	- " ,	" ,	" ,	1-dan kuse,	" .
Genji kuyō (56)	- " ,	" ,	" ,	2-dan kuse.	
Oki-no-in	- " ,	" ,	" ,	" .	
Rō Giō (57)	- " ,	" ,	" ,	" .	
Hagoromo	- " ,	" ,	" ,	1-dan kuse.	
Sakura-gawa	- " ,	" ,	" ,	" .	
Tenko	- " ,	" ,	" ,	" .	
Yōkihi	- " ,	" ,	" ,	" .	
Kamo monogurui	- " ,	sashi,	2-dan kuse.		

Group II: Nō plays with kuse derived from Kusemai. (58)

Hyakuman (Hyakuman (59))	- (see Group I above).
Utaura (Jigoku (60))	- (" " " ").
Yamauba (Yamauba (61))	- (" " " ").
Kashiwazaki (Zenkō-ji (62))	- kuri, sashi, 2-dan kuse.
Yura monogurui (Yura no minato (63))	- " , " , " .
Awaji (Awaji (64))	- " , " , 1-dan kuse.
Fuji-san (Fuji-san (65))	- " , " , " .
Jōgū Taishi (Taishi (66))	- " , " , " .

Kōya monogurui (Kōya[67]) - kuri, sashi, 1-dan kuse.
Shirahige (Shirahige[68]) - " , " , " .
Yoro-boshi (Yoro-bōshi[69]) - " , " , " .
Hana-gatami (Ri Fujin[70]) - sashi, 2-dan kuse.

Group III: Nō plays in which kuse represent Kusemai.

Hyakuman - (see Group I above).
Kakitsubata[71] - (" " " ").
Utaura - (" " " ").
Yamauba - (" " " ").
Tōgan koji - (" " " ").
Genji kuyō - (" " " ").
Rō Gio[72] - (" " " ").
Kamo monogurui[73] - (" " " ").
Gio[74] - kuri, sashi, 1-dan kuse.
Jinen koji[75] - " , " , " .
Mai-guruma[76] : (a) Bijin soroe - " , " , " .
(b) Tsumado - " , " , " .
Shima-meguri[77] - sashi, 2-dan kuse.
Kagetsu - " , 1-dan kuse.
Tōei[78] - " , " .

A comparison of the plays in these groups shows that Hyakuman, Utaura and Yamauba are included in all three and that all these plays have their kuse sections in the form of shidai, kuri, sashi, and a two-dan kuse ending with some form of the first

shidai. Genji kuyō, Kakitsubata, Kamo monogurui, Rō Giō and Tōgan koji were all included in Group I and, as their kuse were not specifically described as Kusemai in the texts of the plays, somewhat less certainly in Group III; and these five plays, too, prove to have kuse sections with structures very close to the one common to the other three. The one furthest from it is the kuse in Kamo monogurui, and even that has a shidai, sashi, and a two-dan kuse. As the way in which the three groups were composed meant that the problem of the original Kusemai structure was being approached from three different directions, there seems little doubt that the form of the kuse in the plays found in all three groups represents the regular and complete form of independent Kusemai. Especially does this seem so when the supporting evidence of the five plays found in two of the groups is taken into account. It follows from this that, when Zeami talked of Kusemai having two dan, he meant the same as is indicated by the present-day term ni-dan kuse, and that what is now known as a shin-no-kuse 'true kuse' is, indeed, the original Kusemai form. This can be verified by an explanation Zeami gave in connection with the music of Kusemai (79). He said, 'As the music at the end of the second dan goes on to a higher pitch, there is a melody rising in pitch before this', and went on to quote lines from the Kusemai Yura no minato, Hyakuman and Jigoku to illustrate what he meant. With all these lines preceding the second ageha in the kuse sections of the Nō plays in which they were used, it is clear that then, as now, the number of ageha in a kuse determined the number of dan, and

that the ageha were regarded as coming at the end of, but forming part of, each dan.

The fact that this full form is now to be found in so few Nō merely means that it must have proved too long to fit easily into the framework of a play and that a shortened form was therefore used. A good example of this development was the Nō Tsuchi-guruma. The 'Sarugaku dangi'(80) tells how Zeami made use of the kuse from his own play Tsuchi-guruma to improve Kashiwazaki, which was by another author. The present kuse in Kashiwazaki is based on Zeami's Kusemai Zenkō-ji but is quite different from the kuse now found in Tsuchi-guruma. Examination of the text of this play reveals that the original two-dan kuse, which is still part of Kashiwazaki, has been replaced by a shorter, different one which is, however, still preceded by a reference to the temple of Zenkō-ji. In a similar way, the long quotation from the Kusemai Taishi in the 'Go-on' which corresponds to the entire kuse section of the Nō Jōgū Taishi represents, in all likelihood, the modified piece as used in the Nō rather then the original Kusemai in its full form, unless this too was a Kusemai only in its music.

Some idea of the importance of the part which Kusemai have played in Nō ever since their adoption may be had from the position and function of kuse within the plays and from the effect of Kusemai on Nō music. Kuse generally narrate the main story of a Nō play on which the whole piece is based, and are almost always found at the most important point in a play, in

the third part of the development section (ha no sandan)[81]. It was in accordance with Zeami's teaching that kuse were put in this 'main place'[82], so that, from the beginning, whenever a Kusemai or a specially written kuse has been used in a Nō play, it has normally been made the kernel of the whole piece.

As far as the music of Nō is concerned, it is hard to exaggerate the importance, both direct and indirect, of Kusemai. Kan-ami's performance of Kusemai in Sarugaku must have been a bold innovation at the time, for the harsh, rather vulgar character of its strong and catchy rhythm was very different from the softer, melodic Ko-uta style which audiences were accustomed to hear at Nō performances. Although the experiment was successful, it was very soon felt that a somewhat modified style would be more acceptable to Sarugaku audiences or, at least, to that section among the audiences that Kan-ami and Zeami were most concerned to please. They also felt, perhaps, that while the use of Kusemai music gave a welcome vitality and variety to Sarugaku music, the elevation of the art of Nō at which both were aiming would best be served by excluding the more extreme characteristics of the music. The modification of the Kusemai style and its fusion with that of the Ko-uta continued throughout the lifetime of Zeami, and although, for him, the two styles never completely merged, by as early as about 1420 there were very few who were aware of what was happening and could distinguish between them[83]. The process of fusion was insidious and constant and has produced, at the present day, a style of Nō music in which the elements of Ko-uta and Kusemai

are virtually indistinguishable[84]. The new element of Kusemai proved a great attraction in Sarugaku and, together with continued patronage for certain players and a succession of fine performers, helped to give Yamato Sarugaku a tremendous advantage over other groups. Nō players other than those of the four main Yamato schools do not seem to have followed Kan-ami's lead in using Kusemai music to any appreciable extent[85]. So characteristic of these four groups did the Kusemai style become that it was given the name 'Yamato music'[86]. With music being so important in Nō that Zeami could describe it as 'the very basis of Nō'[87], the popularity of the new style which followed the use of Kusemai by Kan-ami[88] must have been a major factor in the victory of the Yamato schools over their Dengaku and Sarugaku rivals and their survival to the present day.

Thus, the importance of the role which kuse came to assume within Nō plays and the new life and colour brought to Nō music by Kusemai make Kan-ami's adoption of Kusemai the greatest event in the development of Nō drama. What followed from his action also means that the influence of Kusemai has been immeasurably greater than that of any other form, including Dengaku, for, so far as can be seen, Dengaku made no great step forward but only set a good standard in the type of performance it shared with Sarugaku until the time of Kan-ami.

Notes To Chapter V.

1. 'Ongyoku kowadashi kuden', TZN 73.
2. TZN 296.
3. See NK 59.
4. TZN 218.
5. For example, Kobayashi, YSK 28.
6. NG 709. It could also be that the friendship that apparently existed between Kan-ami and Nan-ami before 1374 arose from their common interest in Kusemai.
7. Little is known about this person, who died in 1381 (Jōgakki, qtd. NS 10), but he seems to have been one of the artistic coterie which Yoshimitsu gathered about him. The Writings show that he must have had considerable musical skill and was a good counsellor to Kan-ami and his son. (See also n.6 above and n.12 below.)
8. See 'Go-on', TZN 218.
9. Jōgakki, qtd. NS 10.
10. Also known as Tama-rin. In his 'Tama-rin kō', Muromachi nōgakki, Kobayashi points out that Tama-rin was probably only a nickname descriptive of the first character 琳 of his name Rin-ami, used to distinguish him from a contemporary who had the same name written with a different first character.
11. The shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu.
12. 'SD', TZN 296. Kobayashi, ibid., suggests very plausibly

that Nan-ami engineered the whole episode of Rin-ami's return to favour by setting the piece to music himself and having, the young Zeami, Yoshimitsu's favourite, sing it before the shogun.

13. There was never any fixed age for gembuku and, since the Go-gumai-ki, qtd. NS 9, refers to Zeami as a child, it appears that he had still not assumed adult status by the 6th. moon of 1378, the date of the entry. But it was unusual for the ceremony to be later than the 15th. or 16th. years and as boys in the Komparu group took adult status on reaching their fifteenth calendar year ('EH', KJ 113), it cannot have been long after the summer of 1378 before Zeami did the same.

14. 'Go-on', TZN 217 and 218.

15. See below, Chap.VII 206-8 .

16. 'SD', TZN 292.

17. TZN 217.

18. TZN 218.

19. 'Go-on', TZN 217.

20. This is clear from the Writings, in that they contain discussions about such pieces and record such compositions by Zeami and his son Motomasa, who died in 1432 (see, for example, 'Go-on', TZN 213 and 219).

21. 'Ongyoku kowadashi kuden', TZN 73.

22. TZN 292.

23. TZN 197.

24. 'Kyoku-zuke no shidai', TZN 174.

25. TZN 218-9.

26. TZN 295.

27. Although Sanari (Yōkyoku taikan vol.7, 62) states that there is no Nō containing this Kusemai, the Kokon yōkyoku kaidai 482 and Nonomura ('Genkō kakuryū rankyoku-kō', Nōen dai 482 and Nonomura ('Genkō kakuryū rankyoku-kō', Nōen nissho 108) both give Ōsaka monogurui as such a play. The text of this play was not available to me, but the self-contained nature of Tōgoku-kudari, its unsuitable length · dai remarks that Ōsaka monogurui is 'an extraordinarily long piece'), the fact that Saikoku-kudari, to which it is very similar, has not been so used, and Zeami's quotation of the first lines of these pieces ('Go-on', TZN 218), leave no doubt that the present Rankyoku texts are the original ones and not, as so many are, extracts from Nō plays.

28. The long quotation in the 'Go-on', TZN 215, which is headed 'Taishi Kusemai' and described as one of the Fushi-Kusemai telling the story of Prince Shōtoku, corresponds to the whole kuse section - kuri, sashi, and kuse proper - of the Nō Jōgū Taishi. The impression given by the description, that Zeami was perhaps quoting the whole of the Kusemai and not part of the Nō, is therefore rather doubtful (see p.145). (The Nō is not now performed, but the text is given in the Yōkyoku sōsho vol.2, and Yōkyoku

sambyakugojūban-shū, Nihon meicho zenshū ed. vol.29. The present Rankyoku Jōgū Taishi omits the line which forms the kuri in the play and is the beginning of the sashi according to Zeami.)

29. Hereafter, the term Kusemai is used to mean only the independent pieces and kuse the forms found in Nō plays.

30. See below, Chap.IX 300-2 .

31. TZN 216.

32. Nogami, Kan-ami Kiyotsugu 134. There and in the following pages he also gives figures on the use of kuse in each of the five traditional groups of Nō plays.

33. This was the view of the writer of the Sarugaku denki (wr. early 18th. cent.; given in Enseki jisshu vol.1) who stated that the 66 pieces performed by Hata no Kōkatsu for Prince Shōtoku were Kusemai and that they were made into Nō by the addition of other sung parts at the beginning and end. Although this view of the construction of Nō has often been dismissed , it is undoubtedly what happened to many Kusemai.

34. The Kanze, Hōshō and Komparu schools use the name 'Rankyoku' for their pieces, and the Kongō and Kita schools 'Kusemai'. Strictly speaking, Rankyoku is a wider term, since it means 'advanced, developed musical pieces'; but as nearly all the pieces chosen for their musical quality and ability to stand alone are the kuse sections of plays, Rankyoku and Kusemai are almost synonymous as used in present-day Nō.

35. See Takano, Nihon engeki no kenkyū vol.2, 156.

36. As mentioned above, the Rankyoku Jōgū Taishi, for example, omits part of the introduction to the kuse proper. It is, therefore, always preferable to refer to the full text of the play when one is known to exist.

37. For details of the numbers of Nō having various types of kuse, see Toda, 'Kusemai no kenkyū', Engekishi kenkyū vol.2, 41-2. (Tōgan koji, however, which he gives as having the most complete type of kuse, has, in fact, an ichi-dan kuse.) For the various types of kuse and the names given to them, see also Nonomura's introduction to Yōkyoku sambyakugojūban-shū, Nihon meicho zenshū ed. vol. 29, 46-7 etc.

38. The kuri and sashi are of no fixed length and are sung out of time with the musical accompaniment, unlike the kuse itself. The sashi is not so much sung as delivered as a chant or recitative.

39. Except where otherwise stated, the plays referred to in this chapter are those in the present repertoires.

40. TZN 113.

41. TZN 115.

42. TZN 295.

43. That is, the texts of the seven plays given by Kawase in his Zeami jihitsu densho-shū. Five of these have kuse but all are ichi-dan kuse with no shidai. (Strictly speaking, one of the five plays in question, a version of Yoro-

boshi, is not in Zeami's own hand but is a copy made in 1711 of a text written by him.)

44. op.cit. 42-4.

45. ibid. 44.

46. 'Go-on', TZN 202 and 214.

47. See, for example, Kawase, Zeami jihitsu densho-shū 159 & 223.

48. Given by Kawase, op.cit.

49. TZN 113.

50. TZN 115.

51. See App.1 for translations of the Rankyoku Tōgoku-kudari and part of the Nō Hyakuman, given to illustrate the differences between Rin-ami's pieces and what can be shown to be a more regular Kusemai structure.

52. TZN 218-9.

53. Nose (ZJH vol.2, 236) sought to read into tada the implication that the pieces were unconnected with Sarugaku.

54. See Nogami, Kan-ami Kiyotsugu 126-9, on this point.

55. In most cases these kuse are described in the texts of the plays as 'Kusemai' or 'Mai' and, in some, the character concerned represents some kind of performer of Kusemai.

56. The text of this discarded play is available in a number of collections. Some of these (e.g., Yōkyoku hyōshaku vol.5 and Yōkyoku sambyakugojūban-shū) give the kuse as a long 2-dan kuse, but others (e.g., Yōkyoku sōsho vol.1 and Yōkyoku zenshū, Kokumin bunko kankō-kai ed. vol.2) divide it into two parts. It is true that the phrasing of the

first shidai is repeated at the end of the first part, but the division into two parts probably only derives from the existence in the Kanze school of two Rankyoku corresponding to the two parts of the kuse. In content it is one connected piece and is so given as a Kusemai in the Kita school. Cf. Yura no minato, n.63 below.

57. This play is no longer in the Nō repertoires, but the text is given in Yōkyoku sambyakugojūban-shū.

58. The names of the Kusemai are given in brackets after the names of the Nō plays in which the derived kuse are found. Two other Kusemai are mentioned in the Writings, Seisui-ji ('SD', TZN 357) and Yoshino-yama ('Go-on', TZN 201-2); but the first cannot be identified with any known kuse, and the lines the second has in common with the Nō Yoshino-goto are not used in a kuse section.

59. 'Go-on', TZN 219 and 'SD', TZN 296.

60. 'Go-on', TZN 218. The 'SD', TZN 295, quotes another line, also to be found in the kuse in Utaura, to illustrate a point about the music of Kusemai.

61. 'SD', TZN 296.

62. 'Go-on', TZN 219. See p.145 concerning the sometime use of this Kusemai in the Nō Tsuchi-guruma.

63. 'Go-on', TZN 218. As Zeami quoted a line from this piece (now to be found in the Rankyoku Yura monogurui) in the 'SD' to illustrate a point about Kusemai, Yura no minato almost certainly had the standard form (beginning and ending with

a shidai and being in two dan) which he described there. Unfortunately, the text of the Nō in which it was used is not extant to show for certain that it contained shidai, but the line quoted in the 'Go-on' is shown as a kuri and the present Rankyoku text of Yura monogurui shows that there followed a sashi and a two-dan kuse. This Rankyoku should be regarded as one continuous piece, as it is in the Kita school; the Kanze division into two parts is purely arbitrary. (Cf. Oki-no-in, n.56 above.)

64. 'Go-on', TZN 199-200.

65. ibid. 200.

66. ibid. 215. The text of this play, which is not now performed, is given in Yōkyoku sōsho vol.2 and Yōkyoku sambyakugojū-ban-shū.

67. 'Go-on', TZN 213.

68. ibid. 218.

69. ibid. 212. As the lines quoted in the 'Go-on' are the same as the kuri, sashi, and the beginning of the kuse in the present-day play Yoro-boshi (this alternative form of the name Yoro-bōshi, used in the play itself, has been current since the time of Zeami and is the more common now), it is clear that Motomasa, the writer of that play, used some form of Zeami's Kusemai when writing the Nō. But Zeami used this same Kusemai in his own play Yoro-boshi (see Kawase, Zeami jihitsu densho-shū 259-60) which was in existence by 1429; and since Motomasa did not die until

1432, he may have taken over the kuse section from Zeami's instead of direct from the Kusemai. Any modifications Zeami made to the original Kusemai in using it in his Nō play would, in that case, have been repeated by Motomasa. It appears from the 'SD', TZN 295, that such modifications were made for, immediately before the statement that Kusemai should begin and end with a shidai and should have two dan, it says, 'The Kusemai Yoro-boshi is essentially Kusemai in character.' Thus, originally it was probably a model of its kind and much closer to Zeami's regular form than can be shown now.

70. 'Go-on', TZN 216. This piece is not described in the 'Go-on' as a Kusemai but, unless it was itself a Nō, it is more likely to have been a Kusemai than any other kind of independent sung piece, as the quotation in the 'Go-on' introduces the kuse in Hana-gatami.

71. The section in question is not described as a Kusemai in the text of the play but, since a character representing a woman dresses in man's clothing and then performs what is a kuse section in the Nō, it seems very likely that it was intended as such.

72. Although the type of dance performed is not specified in the Nō, the donning of an eboshi and a comparison with the play Giō show that it was probably intended as a Kusemai.

73. For the same reasons as those given for Kakitsubata, n.71 above, it is likely that the kuse section was intended to represent a Kusemai.

74. To have the Shirabyōshi Giō and Hotoke dancing a Kusemai together, as this play does, was probably an anachronism, but it may indicate that Kusemai were performed by Shirabyōshi in the Muromachi period.

75. As both this play and Tōei have the same sashi and kuse, telling of the alleged invention of the boat by one Huo Ti, and as this story is unconnected with the subject-matter of either piece, Iwahashi (Nihon geinō-shi 48-9) has suggested that it was probably a Kusemai current at the time the plays were written. In neither play, however, is it described as a Kusemai.

76. Although this play is not in the present repertoires, it has two sections, described in the text as Kusemai, which are still used as the Rankyoku Bijin soroe and Tsumado. The full text of the is given in the Yōkyoku hyōshaku vol.5, but as this is unreliable in its marking of the parts of the kuse sections (in neither case, for example, does it mark the sashi), comparison should be made with the Rankyoku texts.

77. This play is not in the repertoires, but the full text is given in the Shin yōkyoku hyakuban and the kuse, described in the play as a Kusemai, is used as a Rankyoku.

78. See n.75 above.

79. 'SD', TZN 295.

80. TZN 319.

81. See Chap. IX 291-3 below for an account of the theory of jo-ha-kyū.

82. 'Nōsakusho', TZN 115. See also ibid. 110.

83. In the 'Ongyoku kowadashi kuden' (TZN 73-4), which was written in 1419, Zeami laments the disappearance of these experts.

84. Kuse remain the most important sung parts of the plays and the beat is still looked on as being more important in them than the melody, unlike most of the parts sung by individual actors (see Yoshida, Kuse to rongi no utai-kata 18-9). But Nogami (Kan-ami Kiyotsugu 124) admits that, although some parts of a Nō text may have marked characteristics in the form of language or metre, it is no longer possible to distinguish one part from another by the music alone.

85. It would be convenient to be able to say that other players, especially those of Dengaku, did not sing Kusemai atall. It is true that the 'SD', TZN 296, states 'Kiami did not perform Kusemai. His was Ko-uta style only.' But a later reference (TZN 357) to his rendition of the Kusemai Seisui-ji shows that, in fact, he tried to give Kusemai but was unable to do so because he had no mastery of the style. (Nose (ZJH vol.2, 641-2) appears to have accepted that Kiami did not perform Kusemai at all and, from this, to read the passage dealing with Seisui-ji as if some sections of this Kusemai were intended to be sung in a Ko-uta style; but the passage has no coherent meaning unless it is understood to say that such variations came from Kiami's poor attempts at the Kusemai style.) While the distinction

may seem slight, the fact that Dengaku players did not avoid altogether pieces in a Kusemai style has some bearing on the problem arising later of the existence in Dengaku of plays containing kuse.

86. 'Ongyoku kowadashi kuden', TZN 73.

87. 'SD', TZN 291.

88. 'Ongyoku kowadashi kuden', TZN 73.

CHAPTER VI

Sarugaku And Dengaku Performances:

(1) Religious And Private Performances.

Performances of Sarugaku and Dengaku were given under many different conditions as the occasion required, but there were three main types of performance which, although they came to exist together, arose at different times. The earliest of the three was the performance given under the auspices of a shrine or temple with an audience of local people. Later, when Dengaku and then Sarugaku won the support of important members of the ruling warrior class, the entertainments came to be given also in private residences for the benefit of particular lords and their guests. Finally, the popular appeal and influential backing to which these earlier forms bore witness combined to make possible big public performances which were usually given in specially built arenas and lasted for several days. The story of these three places of performance thus illustrates the development of Dengaku and Sarugaku from little-known forms of entertainment given in outlying districts to the most important and magnificent theatrical spectacles of the day, popular among all classes.

It has been shown already that some shrines and temples had arrangements with certain groups of players whereby the latter performed at some of their religious ceremonies. Such arrangements made these religious centres the earliest regular places of performance, but they would, in any case, have been the

most natural places to choose, for the shrines and temples of mediaeval Japan were far from being merely places of worship. They were the centres round which the whole life of the times revolved. They provided the sites for markets at which much of the business was done by members of the various guilds which came under their protection. The bigger and richer of them, in particular, created much of the local trade by their continual need for food, materials and labour. Townships grew up outside their gates, just as they did later outside the castles, and a 'man living before the gate' has been preserved in Nō plays as representing the ordinary lay person of the time, the Muromachi period equivalent of our 'man in the street'. The precincts held a motley collection of traders, travellers, minstrels, preachers, and ordinary local people who gathered there to carry on the business of everyday life. A troupe of entertainers visiting some outlying place would naturally have gone there too; and it must often have been the case with touring Sarugaku players, that they took with them letters from the shrine or temple with which they were connected recommending them to the good offices of the local priests.

In the Muromachi period, troupes of players were to be found in almost all parts of Japan, either attached to shrines and temples or in the service of some local lord. Of them all, those belonging to the provinces around the capital were the most important from a historical point of view, because some among them developed higher artistic standards than the rest to

meet the requirements of the more cultured audiences in and around Kyōto, and because it is from them that the present schools of Nō derive. Players from these groups were by no means confined to their own localities. There are many records of players from one province performing at shrines or residences in another, and members of the Kanze group from Yamato were likely to perform in the provinces of Iga, Ise, Yamashiro, Ōmi, Izumi, Kawachi, Kii, Settsu and even farther afield, as well as throughout their home province[1]. Kan-ami, for example, died in Suruga[2] after performing at a shrine in what is now the town of Shizuoka[3], nearly two hundred miles from Nara. There is also a record of a troupe of women who came up from the western provinces and performed Sarugaku in the capital[4], but the novelty of seeing such a performance given by women, which drew comment from the diarist himself, doubtless formed a large part of the attraction on that occasion, and it is unlikely that players from outlying parts often had the opportunity to perform in the capital. Unless there was something remarkable about them, however, performances frequently went unrecorded. Even when they formed part of regular annual religious ceremonies, the participation of the players was often taken as a matter of course and no mention made of it in documents relating to the ceremonies.

Performances at annual religious ceremonies, usually at the particular shrines or temples on whose protection the group depended, were the main, and in most cases the only, fixed events in the calendars of the Sarugaku players. In the case of the four

Yamato schools, there was an obligation to perform at the Takigi Nō at the Kōfuku-ji, at the Kasuga Shrine Wakamiya Festival, known as the On-matsuri, and also at the Hokke hakkō-e at Tō-no-mine (5). Although these ceremonies were on a grander sclae than most of those in which the Yamato and other schools participated, it is interesting to consider them in some detail to see the part played by Sarugaku on such occasions.

The performances at the Kōfuku-ji, which were generally known as the Takigi Nō or 'firelight Nō', were part of the Shunigatsu-e ceremonies held in the first half of the second moon of each year (6). It is possible that the name Takigi Nō arose, not because the Nō was given by the light of bonfires, but because the performances were connected with the gathering of wood for use in the Shunigatsu-e. These ceremonies, which are said to have been first given at the Kōfuku-ji in 869, at one time included dramatic representations of Buddhist teachings given by the priests themselves, but these were later performed by Sarugaku players instead. This led generally to a gradual weakening of the didactic element in such performances until, by about the end of the thirteenth century, they were probably based on the usual repertoire of the Sarugaku players. The earliest clear reference to Takigi Sarugaku which has so far been found dates from 1255, for it is recorded that in that year one of the attendants of the Sarugaku players urinated beside the stage and was obliged to give a robe, a sword, and a sum of money to have a priest cleanse the defilement by a special ceremony.

The first site of the Shūnigatsu-e ceremonies at the Kōfuku-ji was the Western Kondō, but they and the accompanying dramatic representations were also performed in the Eastern Kondō from the first part of the eleventh century. Then, at the latest by 1301, Takigi Sarugaku came to be given also before the Great South Gate of the temple, the site with which it is most closely associated. This development is usually held to be explained by a record in which an official of the temple states that the authorities decided to have the Sarugaku performed in front of the Great South Gate in order to stop disputes which arose, presumably over the performances, between the priests of the East and West Kondō. Although such an entry is unlikely to have been altogether without foundation, a disagreement between the two Kondō may well have been only a convenient pretext for the temple constabulary, whose power was ever increasing at the time, to win themselves a major share of the entertainments. The extent to which they did in fact come to assume control of the performances is well illustrated by their occupation of the centre block of seats with members of the two Kondō flanking them, one group on each side, whenever Sarugaku was performed in front of the Great South Gate. An old document dealing with the Western Kondō (7) states that 'In the Meitoku era [1390-1393] Takigi Nō was given at the Great South Gate for seven days, regardless of whether or not the Shūnigatsu-e ceremonies were being held.' Thus, the constabulary may never have stopped the performances in the Kondō entirely: these may have continued to be given there, albeit on a very

restricted scale, whenever they could form part of the religious ceremonies. The 'Sarugaku dangi', compiled in 1430, mentions performances in the two Kondō and at the Kasuga Shrine as part of the Takigi ceremonies (8). Zenchiku's 'Emmai-za hōshiki', which is thought to have been written about 1467, still explains that the Sarugaku began in the Western Kondō on the evening of the second day of the second moon, and continued in the Eastern Kondō on the evening of the next day (9). This work goes on to say that the rest of the performances consisted of the leaders of the four Yamato schools playing Shiki Sambanbefore the Kasuga Shrine on the fifth; of Sarugaku at the Great South Gate for the constabulary on the sixth: and, finally, a performance at the residence of one or other of the two Kōfuku-ji monzeki. This was no doubt the official programme in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, but records of the Kōfuku-ji and Kasuga Shrine show that, later, the constabulary again enjoyed a greater share of the performances. According to Nose, an examination of these reveals that later in the Muromachi period the full course of the Takigi Nō performances was made up of ceremonial dances by the four leaders at the Kasuga Main Shrine on the fifth; Sarugaku at the Great South Gate by the four Yamato schools on the sixth and seventh, and by three of them from the eighth to the eleventh; performances before the Kasuga Wakamiya on these four days by each school in turn, in the order Komparu, Kongō, Kanze and Hōshō; and finally, on the last day, performances by all four again at the Great South Gate. Thus,

the total period was about a week, as Zenchiku stated[10], but when bad weather or some such cause made it necessary, they could be spread over a maximum period of fourteen days. Members of the Kanze group were, therefore, required by their rules to attend for the duration of the ceremonies[11]. Around the middle of the fourteenth century, in particular, the Shūnigatsu-e was sometimes postponed until the ninth or even the tenth moon, or abandoned altogether. Documents of the time show that this was often due to lack of funds, when the lands belonging to the temple were ravaged by the continual warfare of the period and produced no tithe. Postponement made attendance very difficult for the Sarugaku players, who must have been committed to other performances and itineraries later in the year and could not afford to wait in Nara indefintely. The 'Sarugaku dangi'[12] states that in earlier days the time of the Takigi ceremonies was not fixed and that sometimes they took place in the summer. It goes on to tell how Kan-ami was once summoned to explain why no Sarugaku players had attended and how, since that time, the players' obligation to perform had been limited to times when the ceremonies were held in the second moon.

The record describing the Kasuga Wakamiya Festival of 1349 shows that it was likewise impossible for professional players to wait very long in Nara for the second of the three ceremonies in which the Yamato Sarugaku groups were expected to take part, the On-matsuri of the Kasuga Wakamiya[13]. This is

why, when the festival did finally take place on that occasion, the Sarugaku and Dengaku entertainments were performed by priests and priestesses of the shrine. The Wakamiya was first dedicated in the year 1135 and the On-matsuri held for the first time in the following year. Perhaps in that year, and certainly in the year after that, both Sarugaku and Dengaku players were included in the procession which still forms the major part of the proceedings on the first day of the festival (14). Professional Dengaku groups were already in existence by then and there is little doubt that both the Sarugaku and Dengaku at this shrine were normally given by professional players. When, after making a reference to 'two Dengaku groups', a record of the festival of 1162 (15) points out that, in that particular year, Sarugaku in the procession was represented by priestesses, it would appear to show that this was not the normal procedure. Like the Kasuga Shrine itself, the Wakamiya and its On-matsuri were very closely associated with the neighbouring Kōfuku-ji (16), and participation in this festival no doubt formed part of the duties of the Yamato schools as soon as they were organized as official za of that temple (17). Although there were inevitably some years when the festival was either cancelled or postponed, from its inauguration until well into the Muromachi period (1337-1602) it usually began on the seventeenth day of the ninth moon (18). Even during the early years of the period, however, it was sometimes intended to hold the festival on the twenty-seventh day of the eleventh moon. The festival of 1348 should

have begun in that moon, though still on the seventeenth day (19), and that of 1396 did take place in that moon and on that day (20). These may have been isolated instances, but it certainly seems that by the middle of the fifteenth century at the latest, it had become the usual practice to hold it then (21). Although, nowadays, the ceremony which marks the beginning of the preparations for the festival takes place on the first of October, and there are other preliminary ceremonies on the fifteenth and sixteenth of December, the ceremony proper takes place on the seventeenth of that month (22). The first main item in the day's proceedings is a long procession of the kind described in the 1349 document. This procession normally makes its way by a roundabout route to the O-tabi-sho, a site to the west of the main Kasuga Shrine and near the Great South Gate of the Kōfuku-ji to which the god of the Wakamiya has been transferred for the duration of the Festival. In the course of the procession the various groups of performers taking part give in turn very short musical pieces in front of a sacred tree beside the second torii on the road up to the main shrine. This tree is a great pine known as Eikō no matsu and is regarded as the original of the pine-tree painted on the boarding at the back of a Nō stage today (23). Following the arrival of the procession at the O-tabi-sho, many forms of music, songs, and dancing are given before the temporary shrine, including some by Dengaku and Sarugaku players. When these performances end, early in the morning, the god returns in procession to the permanent Wakamiya and the ceremony proper is brought to a close; but, on the following day

the eighteenth, a performance of Nō is given at the O-tabi-sho. Unlike the songs and dances of the previous night, the Nō is given with the temporary shrine at the players' backs, since the god is no longer there. The performance thus has no religious significance but is purely an entertainment for the onlookers.(24) It was the custom to hold this form of after-celebration from a very early date. An old document shows that in 1181 Dengaku was already being given on the day following the Wakamiya Festival.(25) No such mention of Sarugaku being performed then is known, but this may be because its status at the festival was different from that of Dengaku(26); and since, by 1181, it had been given on the day of the festival proper for more than forty years, it may already have formed part of the next day's entertainment. In any event, it doubtless did so as soon as the standard of its performance recommended it sufficiently to the local priests.

The third of the religious performances under consideration, those at Tō-no-mine, or Tan-no-mine as it was called in Zeami's day, appear to have been remarkable for their realism. In 1429, for example, the shogun's palace was the scene of a performance, described as being like those at Tō-no-mine, in which live horses and real armour and swords were used(27). In the play Ichi-no-tani senjin given then, Kanze Motomasa played the part of Yoshitsune and made his entrance on a horse(28). The Tō-no-mine performances were recognized to be in a distinct style of their own, but as military accoutrements are the only things mentioned as being real in records describing performances of

this kind[29], it looks as if the characteristic for which they were noted was not so much realistic production in general as realistic treatment of plays featuring warriors. Such plays were made as spectacular as possible so that, in the words of a phrase much used to describe performances in the Muromachi period, they did indeed 'amaze the eyes and ears' of the audience. Tō-no-mine is in Yamato and the ceremony which the Sarugaku schools of that province were required to attend there was the Hokke hakkō-e, the Eight Readings of the Lotus Sutra, held annually in the tenth moon. Not all the four schools attended every year, however. Two schools served there each year and when, in 1463, the performances were given by the Komparu and Kongō schools, it may have been the first time they had fulfilled this duty for thirty years[30]. This ceremony of reading the Lotus Sutra usually consists of the eight books of the sutra being read in turn, one each night and morning, so that the eight readings last four days. Thus, when the 'Sarugaku dangi' refers to the Tō-no-mine ceremony as Shikō, 'The Four Readings', commentators have sought to explain it by saying that it was given this name because the Sarugaku players attended for four days[31]. The explanation is unconvincing in itself and there are other points which, taken together, throw doubt on its accuracy. The strongest evidence is that of an entry in a fifteenth century record[32] which states that the Sarugaku began on the thirteenth day of the tenth moon and ended on the following day. The 'Sarugaku dangi' also mentions two days in connection with the performances[33] and, referring to the period of

attendance demanded of members of the Kanze group, states, 'Nara no On-matsuri, Tan-no-mine wa zengo yokka no aida', literally, 'The Nara On-matsuri /and/ Tan-no-mine, from first to last a space of four days.'(34) This is capable of two interpretations: either that the players were required to assemble for the Wakamiya Festival and the Tō-no-mine ceremony for four days on each occasion, or that attendance at the two together amounted to four days. In view of the other points mentioned, the second meaning seems more likely to be correct and, since Sarugaku was normally given at the On-matsuri on only two consecutive days, even the first interpretation would entail the conclusion that two extra days were being allowed for assembly, preparation, and dispersal. In either case, the evidence appears to show that, although the ceremony of the sutra readings was usually spread over four days, at Tō-no-mine the performances by a particular Sarugaku group, if not the ceremony itself, lasted only two days.

Like Sarugaku, Dengaku was connected from early times with religious ceremonies. Indeed, insofar as Dengaku originated in songs and dances performed in the fields to encourage the gods to provide bountiful harvests, it had such a connection from the very beginning. The pleasure it gave to the people who saw and heard it would, in any case, soon have led to its being used to entertain the gods in religious ceremonies elsewhere in the same way as Gigaku, Bugaku, and early Sarugaku, of which it came to form a part.

The earliest known records which clearly speak of Dengaku being given as an independent entertainment at religious ceremonies date from about the same time as the first mentions of professional Dengaku players and Dengaku za; that is to say, there are hardly any earlier than the second quarter of the twelfth century (35). In the Kyōto area, Dengaku is known to have been given at the Gion Festival from 1127, and at the Kamo and Shin-Hie shrines, in the Mi-toshiro Festival in the sixth moon and the Ko-satsuki-e in the fifth moon respectively, from the first half of the thirteenth century. There are fewer records of such performances around Nara but there are mentions of Dengaku at the Tōdai-ji in 1102 and in the Kasuga Wakamiya Festival from 1137 onwards.

Sarugaku players also participated in the Wakamiya Festival from this date, but a comparison of records giving details of the procession shows that the precedence enjoyed by Dengaku in the early years was later lost to Sarugaku. Until at least 1168 Sarugaku came after Dengaku in the procession, but by 1190 the order was reversed (36) and has remained so ever since. The reason for this is not clear but is probably to be found in the different conditions under which Dengaku and Sarugaku players took part in the festival. The differences are thus relevant to this question, as well as being interesting in themselves.

The first of them concerns the office of gakutō, the person appointed to organize the entertainment at any particular festival. While records make no mention of anyone belonging

to the Kōfuku-ji being appointed gakutō to deal with the Sarugaku players who performed there, from as early as 1150 there are frequent mentions of the yearly appointment of priests as Dengaku-tō, 'heads of Dengaku'.(37) Usually two in number, these priests were charged with the duty of looking after either the Dengaku Honza or Shinza group(38). Nor was this duty regarded as an unimportant one, to be allotted to junior priests. Although, in years when there were two gakutō, those appointed were not of the highest rank, on one or two occasions when there seems to have been only one gakutō, the office was held by no less than a sōjō(39). Furthermore, valuable costumes formed part of the rewards to the Dengaku players and were presented to them at a special gathering distinct from the festival itself. The custom of presenting robes or lengths of cloth to singers and dancers as a mark of appreciation was common as early as the Heian period, and when first Dengaku and then Sarugaku became popular in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, such gifts regularly formed part of the perquisites enjoyed by the players(40). The robes were used in performances and this, together with the tradition of lavish presentation found in such religious entertainments as Ennen and Shushi, has led to the magnificence of Nō costume today. Although the practice of making such gifts often led to wild extravagance, followed by orders forbidding it altogether(41), it always began again before long. Since the end of the Heian period it had been common for robes to be presented to entertainers, not after a performance to express appreciation, but before it began, so that

they might be worn in the performance itself. Certainly, at the Wakamiya Festival, the costumes were presented to the Dengaku players on the evening before the day of the festival (42), and the players, in return, performed Nō before the assembled priests (43). Sarugaku players, however, were not given presents of robes at the festival - at any rate, not until the time of Zenchiku (44) - and were probably provided with little more than victuals for the duration of their stay, as at the Takigi Nō (45).

The appointment of high-ranking priests as Dengakuto for the festival was doubtless a result of the responsibilities of the office in having to raise funds with which to pay the players and provide them with gifts. Whereas the Dengaku players were not formally bound to the temple and had to be fully rewarded the obligation of the Yamato schools to attend the festival meant that there was no need to pay them. When this apparently more generous treatment of the Dengaku groups is considered beside the precedence allowed Sarugaku in the festival procession, it seems possible that the change in the order of the procession which apparently took place by 1190 may have been due to the establishment of some formal connection between the Kōfuku-ji and a group or groups of Sarugaku players (46). Once such a group became officially attached to the temple, it would be natural for it to take precedence over similar but independent groups - in this case, the Dengaku za - although it would not receive immediate, material rewards as they did.

Among the Sarugaku and Dengaku players of the Muromachi period were some who had scant regard for the religious significance and importance of their performances at shrines and temples. Zeami complained that 'Some /players/ put religious ceremonies aside because they are travelling in other districts, and either come late or miss the ceremonies at the Kasuga Shrine altogether.....Even when asked to perform such pieces as Okina at religious ceremonies, they do it in a slipshod way. They just dance a little and collect their hundred mon.'(47) Where there was a formal connection between a temple and the players, the priests had the means to check any extensive neglect of their duties by the players(48). But something has been shown above of the eagerness of various groups of priests and temple officials to win for themselves a major share of the performances given during festivals and ceremonies and to arrange other non-religious performances of Nō, and this may give rise to doubts about the motives of the clerics themselves in providing entertainments of this kind for the enjoyment of the gods.

It would, however, be wrong to ascribe anything less than complete sincerity to the great majority of those concerned in these performances. The pleasure which Dengaku and Sarugaku undoubtedly gave the priests can only have served to make them appear all the more essential in any programme of entertainment for the gods. And the absence of players from religious ceremonies was sometimes hardly their fault: it has already been pointed out how impossible it was for them to wait indefinitely when ceremonies

were liable to be delayed by as much as several months. Mention has been made, too, of how the Kanze group required its members to return for religious performances in Yamato from an area covering no less than eight other provinces. Of Zeami's own attitude, there can be no doubt. It is shown both by his condemnation of those who neglected performances before the gods and by the numerous references he made to the religious associations of Sarugaku. He described the entertainment as Kagura (49) and, although his explanation of the origin of the word Sarugaku as being the same as Kagura 神樂 without the left-hand part of the first character (50) was probably no more than a rationalization of his desire to have the name written 申樂 'to tell of pleasure' (51), instead of 猿樂 'monkey music', the connection with Kagura was valid enough at the time. Sarugaku was as much a part of Kagura as the characters Zeami used for it were part of the other word. The dances known as Shiki samban, the forerunners of the present Okina, were more directly sacred than other pieces in that they introduced representations of three Buddhas (52) and had a long history as religious dances. As a result, in the time of Zeami, they were not given except at religious performances. (53) Waki-nō also represented gods, so that they too stood apart to some extent from the other plays. The special standing of these pieces meant that they were not performed by any player who was in disgrace (54) and, since it was considered an honour to perform the opening god-play in a programme quarrels sometimes arose over this when more than one group was

taking part in a performance: the traditional right of the Komparu group to give the waki-nō at ceremonies in Nara, for example, was challenged by the other Yamato groups and the rivalry continued despite the attempt to stop it by having the groups draw lots for the honour (55). Other types of plays were not inherently religious; their only claim to be 'religious plays' lay in their being performed at shrines and temples to entertain the deities. It was sincerely believed at the time that the gods appreciated these performances. Zeami expalins the performances of Takigi Nō at the Kōfuku-ji as being 'a prayer for peace in the land' (56), and relates two or three stories of divine pronouncements in which he was concerned, including one in which he performed ten Nō to save a man's life as required by the god Inari, speaking through a medium (57). Such requests from the gods were not to be ignored. In the eight moon of 1278, for example, a performance of Dengaku was arranged at the Kasuga shrine in response to a revelation from one of the gods there. The people of the time therefore found it hard to understand why rain should sometimes be sent at the time of a performance for the gods and would write in their diaries 'What can the gods be thinking ?' (58) But the sincerity of the priests and others concerned with arranging performances of Nō at shrines is best illustrated by their provision of the entertainment even when this entailed very real hardship. There was such a case in 1421, when the yearly performances at Go-kō no Miya were at first abandoned because of starvation in the land, but were later given as usal because 'experience has shown that it

is inauspicious to put off the Sarugaku'[59].

Whereas, until the end of the Kamakura period (1192-1336), most of the Dengaku and Sarugaku performances of which we have any record were connected with shrines and temples, with the fourteenth century performances in private residences became more and more common. From an early date priests had taken advantage of players being present in the temples for religious ceremonies to arrange extra performances for their own entertainment and these were , it is true, a type of private performance. But the most important kind of private performance arose after Dengaku and Sarugaku attracted the patronage of rich and powerful lords. It became the fashion among the great daimyo and the nobility, from the Regents and shogun downwards, to lavish gifts and money on some particular player or players and to have them sing and dance at banquets in their houses. When, as often happened, a lord was attracted as much by the physical charms of one of the young men or boys who were always to be found in a troupe as by the artistic skill of the players, the favoured one often became a kind of privileged retainer in the service of the lord. As the power of the great temples gradually decreased in the course of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the importance of their protection to the Dengaku and Sarugaku groups grew correspondingly less and was replaced by the patronage of great families until, by the Tokugawa period (1603-1868), the players had become virtually entirely dependent on their popularity among this class.

The private performances given by various players before important personages from the emperor down ranged from short songs and dances given spontaneously at the request of a patron to full-scale entertainments for which much preparation was required. When the Umewaka players performed in the palace of the retired emperor in 1420, a stage and dressing-rooms were specially built[60]. Then, in 1432, a group of women players were invited to perform in the shogun's palace, and two years later Sarugaku was given as part of the entertainment provided for a Chinese embassy[61]. Performances such as these raised no special problems for the players, but it was not so easy when they were suddenly asked to perform before a private gathering. Zeami points out that, in such circumstances, it was essential to judge the mood of those present and to suit one's performance accordingly[62]. The player should also maintain his composure and not show unseemly haste in beginning his dance[63]. Even when prearranged performances of Nō were given for a private party, the players had perforce to bow to the wishes of their audience. One of the difficulties to which this led was in the matter of the number of plays performed and the balance of the programme as a whole. Players were sometimes required to give anything up to ten pieces in all and this destroyed the progression through introduction, development, and climax (jo-ha-kyū)[64] which experience had shown was most effectively produced by the traditional programme of five pieces, consisting of three true Nō plays with two Kyōgen in between[65]. The players were clearly not to

blame if the performance as a whole did not come quite up to expectations, but their reputations were nevertheless likely to suffer in the eyes of their audience, who were unaware of the real reason for any disappointment they might feel. The players had also to be careful that nothing in their words or actions offended the tastes of the nobility. This was no easy matter for those who were accustomed only to the less exacting conditions of performances outside the capital and Komparu Gon-no-kami, for one, did himself more harm than good by his performance in the residence of one of the great lords (66). Sometimes, too, there were personal reasons for a player not wanting to appear on a particular occasion, but these can seldom have excused him once he was summoned. Jūni-gorō found this when, as already mentioned, he finally had to perform with On-ami before the shogun Yoshinori despite his distaste for such an appearance because of the great debt he owed Zeami.

Such reluctance must, however, have been rare indeed. Few players can have realised, even in those troubled times, that some degree of personal oppression and, possibly, danger could ensue from patronage when political conditions changed, and there can have been few occasions when any of them gave thought to the possible disadvantages of private performances. Most performers must have seen these appearances before the great ones of the land only as a means of winning for themselves rich rewards, more fame, and powerful patrons.

Notes To Chapter VI.

1. 'SD', TZN 351.
2. Jōgakki, qtd. NS 11.
3. 'Kadensho', TZN 9.
4. Kammon gyoki, qtd. NS 101.
5. 'SD', TZN 351 and 'EH', KJ 113-5.
6. See NG 254-82 for discussion of this and other points concerning Takigi Nō.
7. Qtd. CBG 69.
8. TZN 350.
9. 'EH', KJ 113.
10. ibid. 113-4.
11. 'SD', TZN 351.
12. TZN 344-5.
13. The record is translated as App. 2. The departure of the professional Dengaku players is mentioned on p. 389.
14. NG 64-5.
15. Qtd. ibid.
16. The temple presented costumes to the players, for example, and appointed Dengakutō for the festival.
17. The earliest known records of their attendance, however, date only from the early part of the 15th. century. See, for example, one of 1418, qtd. NG 655.
18. See records qtd. NG 64, 283; and, from 1354 onwards, entries in NS under the date in question.

19. See Ap.2, 384 .

20. Tō-in mainichi zatsu-zatsuki, qtd. NS 30.

21. See entries from the Daijō-in jisha zatsuji-ki, qtd. NS, for 1451 onwards; and the statement in No.72 of the Wakan sanzai-zu e-maki (qtd. Miyatake, Kasuga Wakamiya On-matsuri to Sarugaku 7) that the change took place in the period 1460-5. Miyatake also quotes the Kasuga sairei-ki as dating the change from 1598, but this seems much too late.

22. See Miyatake, op.cit., for details of the programme and participants.

23. See, for example, Yamazaki, 'Nō butai', Nōgaku zensho vol.4, 24-5.

24. Miyatake, op.cit. 84 disagrees with this view but gives no good argument against it.

25. Qtd. CBG 105. Nose, NG 284, gives another record which shows that Dengaku was being given after the festival in the period 1213-8.

26. See pp.172-4 .

27. Manzai Jugō nikki and Kennai-ki, qtd. NG 724-5.

28. Kennai-ki, ibid.

29. See, for example, the Chikamoto nikki, qtd. NS 274 and 278.

30. Daijō-in jisha zatsuji-ki, qtd. NS 251. As the character for 'year' does not appear in the text, however, the significance of the relevant phrase is not altogether certain.

31. Nose, ZJH vol.2, 618, and Kawase, TZN 349 n.1. On p.351 n.2, however, Kawase states that the performance lasted only two days.

32. Daijō-in jisha zatsuji-ki, qtd. NS 251.

33. TZN 349.

34. TZN 351.

35. See NG 1490-518 for such records.

36. See various records qtd. NG 65 and 283. The importance attached to the question of precedence at the festival is shown by the repeated quarrels over this between the Komparu and Kongō Sarugaku schools in the 16th. century (see NG 525-7 etc).

37. See, for example, Wakamiya sairei-ki, qtd. NG 1485, and records qtd. NS 13, 86, 107, 173 etc.

38. See Wakamiya sairei-ki, ibid., and Daijō-in jisha zatsuji-ki, qtd. NS 246.

39. See records qtd. NS 13, 68, 86 etc.

40. See, for example, the Taihei-ki, qtd. Chap.III 57 above.

41. See NG 1473.

42. See records qtd. NS 21, 22, 31 etc.

43. It was at such a performance in 1374 that Zeami first saw Kiami play (see 'SD', TZN 271).

44. His 'EH', KJ 115, states that such gifts were made to the ten senior players of each of the four Yamato schools, but no other mention of this is known.

45. See Kasuga haiden-kata sho-nikki, qtd. NS 146-9. From the 'SD', TZN 349, however, it seems that at Tō-no-mine, where attendance was likewise obligatory, the Sarugaku players were likely to receive gifts of cloth and silk.

46. In his NG 304, Nose gives a reference to 'Nara Sarugaku', which he takes to be the forerunner of the four main Yamato schools, dating from 1200.

47. 'SD', TZN 348.

48. Kan-ami was called, for example, to explain the players' non-attendance at the Kōfuku-ji ('SD', TZN 344-5), and in 1459 the same temple stopped the Yamato players from leaving the province because they had missed the Kasuga Wakamiya Festival in the previous year (see Daijō-in jisha zatsuji-ki, qtd. NS 174.

49. 'SD', TZN 268.

50. 'Kadensho', TZN 35.

51. Zeami's own interpretation, ibid.

52. ibid. 37.

53. 'SD', TZN 321. Even now, performances of Okina require a special occasion and purification rites etc.

54. See, for example, Kammon gyoki, qtd. NS 40.

55. The Daijō-in jisha zatsuji-ki, qtd. NS 169-70 and NG 473, records in connection with a dispute of this kind in 1457 that the Komparu right to perform the waki-nō had been upheld in 1427 and 1432. For instances of the performance having been decided by the drawing of lots, see 'SD', TZN 345 on one in 1429, and an appendix to the 'SD, TZN 355, on another in 1514.

56. 'Kadensho', TZN 37.

57. 'SD, TZN 342.

58. For example, Kammon gyoki, qtd. NS 47-8.

59. ibid. 53.

60. ibid. 50. The Taihei-ki (bk.23 'Ōmori Hikoshichi ga koto', Yūhōdō bunko ed. vol. 29, 61 et.seq.) also mentions such work being done for a privately organized performance of Sarugaku in 1336.

61. Kammon gyoki and Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NS 101 and 114 respectively.

62. 'Kakyō' TZN 137 and 'SD', TZN 281.

63. 'SD', TZN 288.

64. See Chap.IX 291-3 below.

65. 'Shūdōsho', TZN 250.

66. 'SD', TZN 331.

CHAPTER VII

Sarugaku And Dengaku Performances: (2) Subscription Performances, The Stage, And The Content Of Performances.

The special open-air performances had as their main object the raising of money. To accomplish this as successfully as possible, amphitheatres were built in most cases to accomodate at one and the same time large numbers of ordinary people and a smaller number of rich nobles, warriors and high-ranking priests. Before these performances could exist at all, it was necessary for Dengaku and Sarugaku to enjoy a great popularity among all classes, for the members of the audience were required to pay a subscription (kanjin) to gain admission to the theatre on these occasions; and this means that large numbers of people must have enjoyed the entertainments so much that they were willing to pay to see what, to many of them, was available at some religious festivals for nothing. Kanjin performances, it is true, were usually on a lavish scale, but their success and continued existence, at times as a regular annual event, bear witness both to a high standard of performance and to the wide popularity of the entertainments presented. The increasing success they enjoyed may be seen from the statement in the 'Sarugaku dangi' (1), which was compiled in 1430, that in recent years theatres had had to be built even larger than usual to accomodate all those who wished to attend. It had long been the practice for authority to be granted to some responsible person, usually a priest, to collect

donations from the public for such purposes as the erection or repair of shrines, temples, statues and the like or, occasionally, some form of public amenity. Previously a priest had been able to offer in return only a blessing in the after-life, but the addition of some entertainment gave the subscriber a more immediate return for his money. It cannot be said that Dengaku and Sarugaku were the first types of entertainment used to raise funds for such purposes, but there is little doubt that they were the first forms suitable for large-scale public performances.

The earliest known records of subscription performances date from 1346 for one by Dengaku players, and 1364 for one by Sarugaku players[2], but it is unlikely that these were the earliest dates at which such performances took place. There are, however, very few mentions of them in contemporary records until 1413 when the first of ten yearly kanjin performances of Dengaku took place in Kyōto[3]. Most of these were given on the dry river-bank in the capital, a favourite site for the bigger performances. The last two, in 1421 and 1422, were given in the twelfth and tenth moons respectively, but the earlier ones were all given in the third or fourth moons of the year. In each case performances were given on three different days[4], separated from each other by intervals usually of three or four days but sometimes of twelve or more. When the stage and stands were specially built for the occasion, the expense of this alone would doubtless have made it necessary for performances to be given on a number of days, but there was probably more than one

reason for the breaks between performances. The audiences no doubt attended in greater numbers than would have been the case if they had been expected to watch all-day performances on several consecutive days, and the players must have welcomed the chance to rest before the next performance and to rehearse their next plays, an important point when a large number were given in one day. The irregularity of the intervals between performances must often have been due to postponement because of inclement weather for, at least in the specially built theatres, the whole audience was in the open air except the nobility occupying the boxes forming the perimeter.

Less than a dozen records of kanjin performances of Sarugaku before 1450 are known, but these show that they too were usually spread over three days and often given on the river-banks in the capital in special theatres. But it was not invariably so. The performance given by Kan-ami at Daigo some time before 1374 was presumably a kanjin one and that lasted seven days (5). The place of performance, too, depended on the particular circumstances. If it was hoped to raise a big sum of money a large-scale undertaking, probably in the capital, would be necessary, and for this permission would have to be obtained from the authorities. The special theatre on the river-bank in Kyōto is thus the best-known setting. But the essential element in the type of performance under consideration was that the audience was required to make a donation in order to be allowed

to watch and, by this standard, many such performances took place under varying conditions. Some, both in Dengaku and Sarugaku, are known to have been given in temples or even particular halls of temples, and these would clearly have entailed no new building work and no special arrangements beyond the collection of entrance money. One such was a performance in 1422 by the head of Yata Sarugaku at which donations were given to enable him to buy back the office of gakutō at the Go-kō no Miya Shrine at Fushimi[6]. He was highly regarded, in spite of his turbulent career[7], and as the performance was given at the shrine on the day after an annual performance there, there can have been no need either to inform the secular authorities or to make any preparations beyond those required for the regular annual festival. As a kanjin performance, therefore, it was untypical on these points. It was also unusual in the purpose for which it was held. Subscription performances at which the proceeds went to the players themselves were not uncommon in the Tokugawa period, but before that time the money was almost always intended for some purpose unconnected with the performers, who were merely employed as an attraction by the organizer. The case of Yata was thus an exception in this period and, in fact, there is no other known record of a similar kind of performance for nearly a hundred years[8].

Some idea of the more usual large-scale kanjin performances is to be had from a description in the Taihei-ki[9] of one given by Dengaku groups in 1349 to collect money for the

building of a bridge at Shijō in Kyōto:

'In this year, when one strange event followed hard upon another, the popularity of Dengaku in the capital stood out from all the rest. The passion of the shogun[10] for it likewise had no match. As a result, the people at large neglected their work and wasted money on it without cease. The pleasures which Takatoki Zemmon[11] found in it when the eastern provinces were on the point of collapse brought about the downfall of his line in the period that has just passed. A shameful business, it has been called.

'On the eleventh day of the sixth moon in this year, a wandering priest who planned to build a bridge at Shijō brought together the Dengaku players of the Shinza and Honza and, dividing them into old and young, set them against each other in a trial of skill. The stands were built on the river-bank at Shijō. As it was to be a rare spectacle, men and women of all ranks thronged to it in extraordinary numbers. The entertainment was to be ebjoyed by nobles such as the Regent and ministers, by abbots of noble blood such as the head of the sect at that time, Kajii no Nihon Hō-shinnō[12], and by warriors such as the shogun; because of this, their servants, together with nobles, Court officials, warrior retainers of the various houses, and even priests from shrines and temples, vied with each other in setting up their stands. Together with other material, pillars of wood from the province of Nagato measuring five inches by six and

eight inches by nine in thickness were cut and shaped, and a great, imposing structure built, four hundred and fifteen feet in circumference and three or four tiers high.

'When the time arrived, fine carriages made from sweet-smelling wood jostled for places and there was no space left in which to tie the richly furnished mounts. Drapings leapt and danced in the wind and the air was filled with the fragrance of incense. The old and young of the two groups had tents to the east and to the west, with a bridge to the stage on each side. The curtains of the dressing-rooms were made of printed cloth; the hangings were of gold brocade which, as they fluttered in the wind, looked for all the world like leaping flames. On the stage, where folding chairs and stools were ranged, red and emerald rugs were spread and leopard and tiger skins hung (13), so that the eye was dazzled at the sight and all other thoughts were driven from the mind. Then, as the first sounds of stately music brought a murmur from the eagerly listening audience, the sound of the drums in the opening piece (14) and the leading notes of a flute came from the dressing-rooms on each side. Eight beautiful children, all dressed in <u>suikan</u> (15) of gold brocade, richly perfumed and with highly painted faces, slowly emerged from the eastern dressing-room. From the west eight priests filed out, handsome with lightly made-up faces and blackened teeth, and resplendent in fantastically coloured <u>suikan</u> embroidered with all manner of flowers and birds, which they wore over silver-patterned trousers gathered at the ankles where the dye was deepest. As they came in

beating time, with rush hats worn at an angle, the whole scene was magnificent indeed, Ako of the Honza, the leading player of the sasara[16], Hiko-yasha of the Shinza, who danced a rambyōshi, and Dōichi, who juggled with knives, were all wondrously talented and their performances amazed all who saw and heard them.

'The combined performance thus completed, a most impressive performance of a Sarugaku about a miraculous blessing from Hiyoshi San-ō[17] was given. Here a child of seven or eight, wearing a monkey mask, came out from the Shinza dressing-room reverently carrying a sacred staff. His top-robe was of gold brocade on a red ground and on his feet he wore slippers of fur. Entering to a tripping beat and stepping diagonally along the red and green arched bridge, he jumped up on to the handrail, turned this way and that, then leapt down and up again. The scene as he did so was like something from another world. The excitement was unbearable as people told themselves that the god of the shrine must surely have suddenly taken possession of the boy, to show such marvels.

'So it was that the people in the stands covering more than five hundred feet, unable to contain themselves or even to remain in their places, filled the whole arena with gasps and cries in a sustained clamour of excitement and suspense. At this point even beautiful ladies-in-waiting, watching near the shogun's box with the hems of their shot-silk robes held high, could be seen to lift the hanging curtains[18] with their fans. A stand

built of heavy wood five inches by six began to tilt, and before one could even catch his breath, the other stands, with upper and lower tiers covering twelve hundred and forty-five feet in all, came crashing down one after the other. The number of those who died among the great piles of fallen timber is past all knowing. In the confusion thieves began stealing swords; some ran off with them but others, having found swords, stayed to lay about them. Cries and shouts rose up from people who had had limbs broken or slashed; from others, stained with blood, who had been run through with swords or halberds when they joined in the fighting; and from others still who had scalded themselves with the boiling water used for making tea. The scene might well have been that of evildoers crying and wailing in the Common Hell. The Dengaku players, still wearing devil masks and brandishing red canes, gave chase to thieves escaping with stolen costumes. Young servants unsheathed their weapons and went after men who had carried off their masters' ladies. Some turned and fought. Others were cut down as they fled and lay with reddening bodies. It was as if Hell's unending battles and the tortures of its demons were being carried out before one's eyes.'

The collapse of the stands at this performance was certainly an unexpected disaster, but bloodshed was by no means an uncommon accompaniment to Nō in the Muromachi period. Many cases of brawls and killings are mentioned even in the records written within the first half of the fifteenth century (19).

Sometimes, when the audience was involved, we are told that 'many people, both men and women, were killed', or that, although 'someone watching was slashed', the performance continued when the disturbance was over. Often the players themselves were directly concerned. They, or the gakutō responsible for them, might only be struck for making fun of priests or drunken nobles, or for not putting in an appearance to perform as arranged. But it also happened that they met their deaths fighting, like the head of Yata Sarugaku and a flute player who were cut down in a quarrel after a performance. Similarly, when a dispute arose between Dengaku and Sarugaku players over the former wearing a mask in a performance in Nara, someone who tried to come between them was killed by an arrow. The sighificance of such stories is that they show how far removed were the performances of Nō in those days from the hushed, solemn atmosphere in which the plays are usually given today. The people of the time crowded to theatrical performances to be entertained by the splendour and skill of the Nō players and amused by the buffoonery of the Kyōgen. Once there, they ate, drank, chatted with their neighbours, and cheered and shouted with excitement at the parts which pleased them most, so that the scene more closely resembled that of a present-day sumō stadium than a modern Nō theatre. If the England of the sixteenth century in which Shakespeare's plays were given was a savage place, Japan in the early Muromachi period was no less so. Players and audience lived in what has been described as a 'destructive, subversive age'[20] where violence and war were everyday hazards

and the disasters of disease, fire and famine bred still more fear and superstition. To the ordinary people the music and colour of Nō was something of an escape from their own wretchedness, but for the entertainment to have maintained its popularity among all classes in those full-blooded times, the manner of its performance must surely have had a vitality and force that would appear strange to it today.

In the Muromachi period, the situation concerning the place of performance was exactly the opposite of what it is today. Then, there were no permanent theatres and, except when Nō was played in such places as the houses of the nobility, performances in the open air were taken as a matter of course. In the theatres built for kanjin performances and in many of the shrines and temples where Nō was given, the stage itself was roofed; but the part where most of the audience sat to watch was uncovered, and the stage was open on all sides. It was probably only provided with a roof to protect valuable masks and costumes from sudden showers and, in warmer weather, to give the heavily robed players some protection from the glare of the sun. Kanjin performances are particularly interesting because they were virtually the only ones which used a stage and auditorium built exclusively for Nō and, because of this, they provided the model for the later Nō theatre.

Fortunately, there exist two sketches which show the allocation of boxes for a kanjin performance in 1464[21], and

although no more than simple diagrams, they yield valuable evidence about the early open theatres against which to check other contemporary references. The raised boxes which formed the perimeter of the auditorium served both to accomodate people of rank away from the crowd and to shut off the performance from the view of anyone outside the theatre. The sketches show that these raised stands were built in a circle, verifying the impression given by a remark in Zeami's Writings that the stands were 'built round'[22]. The size of this surround was described by the number of spaces between the pillars forming its framework. The space between two pillars, known as a ken, was unfortunately not fixed[23], but the perimeter usually measured 62 or 63 ken when a ken was approximately 5 feet[24]; that is, it measured about 312 feet. This size of 62 or 63 ken is confirmed as a common one for kanjin Nō arenas in the early Muromachi period by its known use for a number of performances, including two at Tadasu-gawara in Kyōto in 1433 and 1464[25]. There was, of course, variation from this standard size on occasions. Perhaps the quaintest instance of this was the limitation of the structure to 54 sections, or 270 feet, when the Dengaku player Kiami performed because his voice was not strong enough to fill an arena of normal size[26]. On the other hand, some stands certainly contained more than 70 sections[27] and, if the figures in the Taihei-ki are to be believed, those at the performance in 1349 had three or four floors and formed a circle, or part of a circle, extending for at least 83 sections, or 415 feet[28]. It seems, therefore, that

the arena of a theatre of this kind usually had a diameter of about 100 feet, but that this might vary from less than 90 to 133 feet or more.

The stage itself was set in the middle of the arena, and the Writings[29] contain a warning against it being nearer one side than the other in case it became difficult to hear from the places farthest away. The same passage stresses that the stage should not be off centre in any direction, so that the audience must have been equally distributed on all sides , except for the very small space occupied by the hashi-gakari. The most important members of the audience took the boxes directly facing the front of the stage, and since 'Whatever happens, the voice must be clearly heard in the part facing the stage'[30] , it was certainly to this section that the players gave most attention. But there must also have been a constant need to remember the audience on the other three sides, and the 'all-round' style of performance that this made necessary must have been very irksome to the players. Nothing is known of a move away from it, however, until the end of the sixteenth century. A sketch of a stage built in 1599[31] shows that it was set in an arena measuring 28 ken across, with its front edge 16½ ken from the shogun's box and its centre 18 ken from the east side, towards which the hashi-gakari ran. Thus, the whole stage was well within the lower half of the arena and to one side, and this had the effect of leaving only a very small proportion of the audience viewing the piece from

behind. There is, strangely enough, no mention of the size of the stage in the records of the time, but as this question is closely linked with the size and position of the hashi-gakari or 'bridge' from the dressing-rooms to the stage, it is convenient to discuss that point first.

It seems from the passage in the Taihei-ki quoted above that, at that particular performance in 1349, there were two hashi-gakari, curved like bridges, which ran to the stage from points behind and on opposite sides of it so that they formed a V-shape with the stage at the point of junction. It may be, as some Japanese writers have assumed (32), that the hashi-gakari joined the stage at its back corners and that the part of the perimeter behind the stage and between the hashi-gakari was taken up by dressing-rooms to the exclusion of stands for spectators. If this were so, it would mean that the total circumference was perhaps 100 ken, since the 83 ken occupied by stands would then have formed only part of the arena. But, on the information available, it is not possible to say exactly where the hashi-gakari joined the stage, or to rule out the possibility that they ran through the stands to dressing-rooms on the other side, as in some later cases. What is certain is that they were two in number, raised in the middle, and slanting in relation to the direction of the stage. The 'Sarugaku dangi' (33), however, advocates a slightly different type of what it calls simply a 'bridge'. It says, 'The bridge should be built so that it runs flat and downwards, the higher end being at the entrance to the

dressing-room. It is not right for it to be curved so that it is raised in the middle. It should be built with the edge of the bridge more to one side, away from the centre point between the pillars of the awning, so that there is a space of about half a ken between the pillars on that side.' There is another reference to a sun-awning in one of the texts to which the sketches of the 1464 performances belong, and there seems little doubt that it ran along the back edge of the stage which, since the stage usually faced north, was the south side (34). The Writings, therefore, recommended that the hashi-gakari should not be arched, as was sometimes the case, and that it should join the stage at its back edge nearer one side than the other. They do not say in which direction the bridge should run from the stage to the perimeter, an omission which may be thought significant, particularly in view of evidence on the point from the performances at Tadasu-gawara in 1464. The texts and illustrations dealing with these leave no doubt that the hashi-gakari, which was one ken wide, was not slanting but straight, running to the stage from a point on the perimeter directly behind it (35). It is not until 1599 that there is another diagram of a kanjin theatre available, and this shows similarities with the present-day arrangement in that the hashi-gakari starts from a point to the left of the stage, as viewed from the front, and joins it at the very back of the left-hand side (36). The angle which it makes with this side, however, is much greater than is the case with the modern Nō stage, where it is usually only slightly more than a right angle (37).

The main problem, therefore, is to decide the type of hashi-gakari likely to have been in common use in the time of Zeami. Before going any further, it must be pointed out that the two slanting hashi-gakari used in 1349 were probably very exceptional. They were necessary then because two separate troupes of players were performing at the same time. A similar arrangement in Ennen performances can be traced back to 1619 (38), and it is possible that two such approaches were used in Bugaku for dancers of the Left and the Right from an early date; but if it was the normal practice in the time of Zeami to build a single bridge to the stage from one side or the other, some direction as to how this should be done would surely have been given in the passage from the Writings quoted above. A number of stages, including the usual ones for Kagura and Bugaku, are known to have had straight entrances coming from behind the stage (39), and the Takigi performances before the Great South Gate of the Kōfuku-ji, to which Kan-ami and Zeami attached such importance, were given with a straight corridor joining the area used as a stage at its back edge and nearer one side than the other, exactly as recommended in the 'Sarugaku dangi' (40). When it is also remembered that in 1464, only twenty-one years after Zeami's death, just such a straight hashi-gakari was definitely used, it seems reasonable to conclude that, having mentioned where along the back edge of the stage the hashi-gakari was to join, the writer of the 'Sarugaku dangi' did not make specific mention of its direction because he took it for granted that it would be

straight; and, therefore, that such a hashi-gakari was the kind in common use.

The size of the Nō stage before the death of Zeami is not known. Nor is it even known whether its size was fixed. Japanese writers who have discussed the question have tended to conclude, on the strength of little more than an assumption that it developed from the small Kagura stage, that the early Nō stage was two ken square (41). Whatever the truth may be about its origin, however, it can be shown that it was not, in fact, of this size. The hashi-gakari at the performances in 1464 and 1599 were one ken wide, and practical considerations alone mean that it was never likely to have been less than this. The recommendation in the 'Sarugaku dangi' that the bridge should join the stage away from the centre of the back edge and about half a ken from one side would, therefore, be meaningless if the stage were only two ken wide, since the hashi-gakari would be exactly in the middle when it was half a ken from one side. Thus, whatever its depth may have been, it can at least be said that it was more than two ken wide.

Apart from the possibility that the awning at the back of the stage led to an extension of the stage beneath it, there is nothing to suggest that the fifteenth-century stage had anything to correspond to the present-day ato-za. One of the plans of the site of the performances at Tadasu-gawara in 1464 (42), however, shows something like verandas on the sides of the stage.

On the stage left are indicated places for the waki, at the front, and the players of the flute, ko-tsuzumi, and o-tsuzumi. They were faced, on the stage right, by the chorus and, towards the back of the stage, the player of the taiko drum. If this were the only indication of an extension to the stage proper, it might be possible to dismiss the marginal areas in the plan as indicating nothing more than, say, a gravel surround to the stage, with the names on it showing that the performers occupied the corresponding positions on the stage proper. But in a passage thought to refer to the chorus (43), the Writings recommend that 'the place where the group sit' should be built lower than the rest of the stage; and Nose (44) mentions that, in an old sketch belonging to the Kanze house, this place is shown to have been built on the stage right, as in the 1464 plan. It seems, therefore, that with the hashi-gakari joining the back of the stage, it was hardly convenient to have subsidiary actors and musicians at the back of the stage and, to avoid this, extra sections for their use were built on to the sides of the stage. The sketch of a stage used in 1599, which has been mentioned as having been in the lower half of the arena and to one side, and as having had a hashi-gakari of the present-day type, shows no sections at the sides of the stage but one at the back corresponding to the present ato-za. The evidence concerning these changes is at present too scanty to determine exactly why and when they took place, but the general line of development may be surmised. During the time that the stage was set in the middle of the auditorium, it seems, the

hashi-gakari joined the stage along its back edge, and subsidiary actors, chorus and musicians were ranged along each side of the stage to give the main actors unrestricted access from the hashi-gakari. Perhaps because the performers seated along the sides of the stage blocked the view of many of the people present and because the attempt to play to an audience surrounding the stage was found to be unsatisfactory and unnecessary, the musicians and, possibly, the chorus,(45) were moved to the back of the stage, which was itself taken further back in the arena. To allow easier access to the stage after such a rearrangement and to make the hashi-gakari more visible to the audience, most of whom were now in front of the stage, the hashi-gakari was made slanting and so arranged that it joined the stage along one side instead of at the back. In Zeami's standard kanjin theatre measuring 100 feet across, the straight hashi-gakari behind the stage would have measured about 43 feet, if the stage was 3 ken, or about 15 feet, in depth. The change to a slanting hashi-gakari would have made little difference to its length so long as the stage remained in the same place. Even in the case of the stage used in 1599, which was built further back in the arena than the early ones, the slanting hashi-gakari was 7 ken in length which, as they are described as 'ordinary' ken, would be equivalent to at least 42 feet; and, at a kanjin performance in 1702, the bridge was more than 11 ken in length(46). Thus, although the development of the modern covered Nō theatre has led in general to a shortening of the hashi-gakari, the view that long ones are more correct is

based on an ancient tradition[47].

The organizer of a subscription performance, usually known as the kanjin-hijiri, allowed about one month for the erection of stands and stage, when these had to be specially built[48]. The arrangements for the building of the amphiteatre itself must necessarily have been left to the organizer, but the Taihei-ki account showed that nobles, warriors, and high-ranking priests, would have their boxes fitted out according to their own standards of comfort and elegance. Most of these people took one or two boxes, but some took three and the shogun's attendance at a kanjin performance meant that at least five and, sometimes, seven sections would be reserved for the use of him and his party[49]. It was far from cheap to take a box at any of these great performances, and some of those who were expected to do so were hard put to it to find the means. One diary tells how the writer was led by a reduction in price to attend a performance one day with a group of his friends and how, after being approached by the organizer himself, he was obliged to find someone to share the expense of another box for the following performance two days later[50]. But the ordinary people, content to be groundlings and watch from the part between the stands and the stage, paid very much less, perhaps only one-thirtieth or one-fiftieth of the price of a box[51].

The theatre being only a temporary construction, the condition of the stage often left much to be desired from

the players' point of view. The 'Sarugaku dangi'[52] warned that, before a performance, the stage and the bridge leading to it should be carefully examined so that protruding nails and other things likely to cause a mishap could be set right - a very necessary precaution when an actor's vision was so often restricted by a mask. The boards used in such a stage clearly did not give the even, polished surface of the usual Nō stage today, but the discomfort of sitting on them for long periods at a time could be lessened for the chorus by the provision of straw mats and for the subsidiary actors such as the waki by the spreading of fine rugs and skins[53], just as described in the Taihei-ki and shown in a number of paintings of early Kabuki stages[54]. The way in which the stage and hashi-gakari were usually boarded in the Muromachi period was perhaps the opposite of what it is today. In the present-day Nō stage, the boards run lengthwise along the hashi-gakari and from front to back on the stage itself, but in a number of drawings and paintings made between about 1590 and 1640 they are exactly the opposite[55]. That is, they were laid across the width of the hashi-gakari and crosswise on the stage itself. Since other illustrations from the same period show the boarding as it is today, at that time both types were to be found. From this, the possibilities seems to be either that, in the last years of the sixteenth century, an old system of boarding was in the process of being reversed and was eventually supplanted altogether, or, what is perhaps more likely, that the method of laying the boards did not become fixed until after the

middle of the next century[56].

The content of Sarugaku and Dengaku performances in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries naturally varied a good deal according to the particular circumstances in which they were given, a variety recommended by Zeami[57]. Of the items usually given when conditions allowed a complete performance, however, the more important were common to both types of entertainment, while those of lesser importance included some peculiar to one or the other.

Sarugaku no longer had the variety which had belonged to it in the Heian period and which was still to be found in Dengaku. Its entertainment was now based almost entirely on song and dance forms. Within this field, however, it covered a wide range from Nō plays, through certain types of Kyōgen in which songs and dances were used, to various pure song or dance forms such as Kusemai and lion dances[58]. Pieces known as shūgen 'auspicious words' were often given when appropriate to the occasion. They were intended as prayers or thanks to the gods for such blessings as long life, good crops, and peace in the land, and are perhaps best typified by the ceremonial dances now known as Okina. To Zeami the inclusion of such sentiments was essential to a good waki-nō[59]. Shūgen pieces were, and still are, part of the short performances given before the great pine-tree during the procession in the Kasuga Wakamiya Festival[60], and in the time of Zeami it was fitting to include them when

playing before persons of rank at a private function[61]. They are still to be found in Nō today. On special occasions, when the programme opens with Okina, the pieces described as shūgen customarily take the form of a full Nō play or the second half of a play of appropriate content; and, on other occasions, they consist of a few lines of song from the chorus. But whereas they now, with the exception of Okina, come at the very end of a programme, the way in which they are discussed in the Writings and the fact that giving them as a finale would have run counter to Zeami's theory of gradually building up the tension of a programme to a final climax[62], make it likely that shūgen were given only at the beginning of a programme in his time. Often, one of the first pieces given in both Sarugaku and Dengaku performances was sung and danced by two or more actors from different groups. Such combined performances were known as tachi-ai[63] and are well represented, in Dengaku, by the one given by eight players from the Honza and Shinza at the performance in 1349 at which the stands collapsed[64], and, in Sarugaku, by those which the four Yamato schools used to give, two schools at a time, during the Wakamiya Festival procession[65]. Another item common to both Sarugaku and Dengaku was one known as kainasashi, the exact nature of which is not clear. There are only a handful of known references to it, covering a period from 1168 to 1430[66], and all that can be said on the strength of them is that kainasashi was something done at the very beginning of performances at shrines. The one or two Japanese writers who have discussed it suggest

that it referred to the Okina dances or, in the face of the difficulty of reconciling this with mentions of it in the war novel Gikei-ki, that it was at least some kind of dance (67). The other mentions are more reliable than the Gikei-ki, being in temple records and private diaries, and these make it seem likely that kainasashi signified some kind of preliminary greeting or obeisance to the gods before the performance proper, rather than a dance; but, in the absence of more material, the point remains obscure. There is, likewise, little to show the extent to which acrobatic movements (haya-waza) were used in Sarugaku performances in the early Muromachi period. Such things as tumbling, balancing and juggling had formed part of the Sarugaku of the Heian period and survived to some degree in Dengaku. Few mentions of such activities are to be found in connection with Sarugaku from the fourteenth century onwards, largely because the main source of information is the Writings of Zeami and he had no time for such vulgarities. There will be reason to discuss in the last chapter the little that can be discovered about acrobatic movements in Sarugaku, but it can be said here that they were certainly still to be found, though probably only in the course of dances and other actions in plays and not as independent items of entertainment.

The main fare provided in Sarugaku, however, consisted of Nō and Kyōgen pieces. The contribution of Kyōgen players nowadays is of two kinds: they, and they alone, give the independent farces which form part of a full Nō programme and, in addition

they take minor parts in Nō plays, when their most common function is to give an account of the situation dealt with in a two-act play in the interval between the acts. The functions of Kyōgen players in the time of Zeami and their relationship to the Nō groups is still a matter of discussion (68). It was demonstrated earlier that their status, like that of players of other roles, was different from their present one in that they specialized in Kyōgen parts within a larger group of which they were members, instead of belonging to small groups of their own. But, from the evidence available, it seems reasonable to conclude that Kyōgen players were carrying out the two functions described above not only in the first half of the fifteenth century, when Zeami produced most of his Writings, but during at least a good part of the previous century as well. As far as the Kyōgen comedies were concerned, the point is not when they began to be given but, rather, when they began to be overshadowed by the serious Nō plays. The marked similarity between the subject-matter of pieces found in the Sarugaku of the Heian period and later Kyōgen plays leaves no doubt that the latter formed the main line of descent from early Sarugaku and that it was the Nō play that was the newcomer. It is, of course, impossible to produce a succession of documentary references to illustrate the continuity - however much people may have enjoyed the buffoonery, there was seldom reason to record it - but there are mentions which show that, in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, Dengaku included comic pieces typified by one in which a character who has been struck hits an

innocent bystander in return, instead of the person who had struck him (69). Since Dengaku formed part of Heian Sarugaku, this at least shows that the tradition was not lost. Furthermore, in the early Muromachi period, Kyōgen players were sometimes known as okashi and, although it has been said that, by derivation, the origianl meaning of this word was not the obvious one of 'comic' but 'transgressor, violator', signifying one who parodied a serious piece that had just been given, the object of this was undoubtedly to amuse and 'comic' must very soon have become the predominate meaning (70). Finally, when we come to the time of Zeami and the years immediately following his death, there can be no doubt that Kyōgen comedies were performed in Nō programmes, often alternating with the Nō plays. Zeami talks of programmes consisting, for example, of three Nō and two Kyōgen (71), and at the Tadasu-gawara subscription performance of Sarugaku in 1464 more than twenty Kyōgen were given between Nō plays during the three days of the performance (72). The role of Kyōgen players in holding the stage during the interval of a two-act play is also discussed by Zeami (73), and he points out that, when doing so, it was no part of their task to amuse the audience - further evidence, if needed, that their usual aim was to provoke laughter.

It has been shown above that the number of Nō plays given in any one programme was likely to vary greatly according to the circumstances involved. The players' dislike of the increasing number of Nō that had to be given to satisfy their patrons may be seen from the 'Shūdōsho', which was written in 1430 and

also states that, even then, only three Nō plays and two Kyōgen would be given at religious and subscription performances (74); in other words, when the players were still comparatively free to arrange for themselves the content of their performances. This, and the fact that similarly restricted programmes were also the rule in earlier days, (75) show that what is regarded as the traditional programme of five Nō with Kyōgen between them was the result of the situation which developed during the lifetime of Zeami, when players frequently had no choice but to give a larger number of Nō than they had previously. Zeami's objection to extra 'request Nō' (koi-nō) did not come from any inherent difficulty in arranging a big programme into a balanced progression according to the principle of jo-ha-kyū, but from the fact that, since such requests were made on the spur of the moment after the ordinary programme was completed, the extra plays could never be other than an ill-fitting appendage. Such requests must also have made unreasonable demands on the memories and physical stamina of the players at times, even though the conditions under which they performed were very much less exacting than they are today. To give only one example, two request Nō were given on the last day of the performances at Tadasu-gawara in 1464 after a programme consisting of no fewer than ten Nō plays and nine Kyōgen.

The fact that both players and audience could withstand programmes such as these, which would now be unbearably long, gives rise to the question of how long a Nō play took to

perform in the Muromachi period. One of the most striking things about records of Nō performances in the fifteenth century, for example, is the large number of plays given at one time, as many as fifteen or seventeen being by no means uncommon. Unless they also include details of the time taken, it is not possible to conclude very much from the number of plays alone, but there are a few records which do this. Briefly, the information they give is as follows. In the second moon of 1419, fourteen or fifteen pieces were given between dusk and dawn (76) and, in the fifth moon ten years later, fifteen were given by dusk (77) so that, in each case, the time taken would have been, at most, about thirteen hours. In the fourth moon of the following year, 1430, eleven pieces were given in less than seven hours (78). But any conclusion from these figure alone would be hasty, since it is not known whether the numbers mentioned included Kyōgen plays as well as Nō. Since Kyōgen players were among those given presents at the performance in 1430, they almost certainly gave some comedies on that occasion, and probably did so at the other times as well. It is known, however, that the final performance at Tadasu-gawara in the fourth moon of 1464 consisted of twelve Nō plays and nine Kyōgen (79). Since this was a subscription performance, it presumably took place during the daylight hours but, as it clearly would not have started at dawn, it can be assumed that it did not last more than about twelve hours and, in fact, probably lasted a good deal less. Dengaku programmes, too, can be of help on this point, as they also had Nō as their main attraction at this time.

For instance, at one performance in the third moon of 1446, eight Nō and two or three Kyōgen, as well as the traditional Dengaku items at the beginning, were given between about one p.m. and dusk, that is, in about six hours (80). If it is assumed that the miscellaneous Dengaku items took about as long as one Kyōgen, and that a Kyōgen took about half as long to perform as a Nō, it can be deduced that, at the two performances, one of Sarugaku and the other of Dengaku, the equivalent of sixteen or seventeen Nō were given in twelve hours or less, and the equivalent of ten Nō were given in six hours. This means that a play took forty-five minutes at the very most on one occasion and thirty-six minutes on the other, an average time of, say, forty minutes compared with anything from about an hour to an hour and a half at the present time. And even these calculations have been, if anything, over-generous in the time allowed: they assume that the performances were continuous whereas, in fact, there were probably some short breaks between items and, perhaps, one or two longer breaks for meals and relaxation; and, since a Nō play was clearly performed in a comparatively short time, to equate two Kyōgen with one Nō in terms of performance time probably assumes a much greater difference between the two than existed in fact. Because of this, it is not possible to go back to the three performances mentioned above which may or may not have included Kyōgen plays and, on the basis of the figures arrived at, conclude that they must have consisted predominantly of Nō plays. That the results represent maximum times is also indicated by the fact that the time taken

to perform one Nō play was little more than forty-five minutes even in the latter part of the sixteenth century (81).

In addition to such things as tachi-ai and kaina-sashi which it had in common with Sarugaku, Dengaku had a number of items peculiar to itself. The order in which the various items were given in Dengaku is known from a number of sources, and although there are slight variations and omissions here and there among the minor miscellaneous items, all show that these preceded the main part of the entertainment, consisting of Nō and Kyōgen. One of the fuller lists of these minor items is that given in correspondance arising from an enquiry for information about Dengaku made by the Tokugawa authorities in 1755 (82). The items given there are described by the following names: chūmonguchi; modoki; kaikō; tachi-ai; katana-dama; and taka-ashi.

Chūmonguchi, which all the records agree was the opening piece in Dengaku in the mediaeval period, was a musical item so named because it was given originally as the players approached the place of performance through the chūmon or 'inner gate'. It was usually played on the flute, drums, and the sasara (or bin-sasara), an instrument peculiar to Dengaku and associated with it since the days when that entertainment was connected with agricultural ceremonies. The type of sasara most commonly found in Dengaku consists of short strips of wood set vertically and threaded together side by side to form a connected piece about two feet long. The strips gradually decrease in length so that

the sasara tapers towards the ends; these are held in the hands and jerked up and down to produce a harsh, rattling sound. No mention of modoki or kaikō in Dengaku has been found in programmes before the Tokugawa period, and their absence from such detailed records as the Bun-an Dengaku Nō-ki makes it unlikely that they existed as independent items with those names in the Dengaku of the early Muromachi period. But, since it seems from the text of them given by Takano (83) that they were short sung pieces in the nature of shūgen which led on to the tachi-ai or combined dance, it is possible that some such sung part was included in the item described only as tachi-ai in earlier records (84). Together with Dengaku itself, katana-dama or juggling with knives, and taka-ashi existed in the Sarugaku of the Heian period, but there is some confusion about the meaning of taka-ashi. In works by Ōe Tadafusa (d. 1111) (85), taka-ashi is given together with something called issoku (or hitotsu-ashi) and these are taken to mean, respectively stilts and a single pole with a cross-piece on which the performer stands and hops around (86). In the form in which they are now known, the writings of Tadafusa do not describe either taka-ashi or issoku, but a quotation from one of them, the Rakuyō Dengakki, in a work completed in the first part of the eighteenth century (87), describes taka-ashi as a type of wooden footwear with tall supports underneath, a description reminiscent of the geta with bars six or more inches high which, with the decorated 'flower-hat', are part of the traditional costume of the Dengaku flute-player at the Wakamiya Festival. This explanation of taka-ashi

was probably a later interpolation and, equally probably, was due to confusion between taka-ashi meaning a 'riding-pole' and taka-ashi-da, ones of the names used for the tall clogs. The early meaning of taka-ashi is further complicated by the fact that, although a comparison of two works written at the end of the eleventh century seems to show that taka-ashi was also called ni-soku 'two legs'(88), which would seem to support the meaning of 'stilts', another work of the same period lists them both, thus showing them to be different(89). Ever since the beginning of the Muromachi period, however, taka-ashi or takashi has meant the single pole with the cross-piece(90), and issoku has hardly been mentioned at all.(91) Even if the early history of taka-ashi remains inextricably tangled, then, it can be said that, in the period under review, the Honza and Shinza Dengaku groups performing at Nara used the term to mean the riding-pole with crossbar, and that this use has continued down to the present.

Throughout the one hundred and fifty years under consideration, Nō and Kyōgen were the main attractions in Dengaku performances, but some mention of the part they played there has already been made and all that remains is to point out one or two things concerning the Nō. The Okina dances, whose special position in comparison with the other Nō pieces has led to their being described as 'a part of Nō, but apart from it', have been performed in Sarugaku since the Heian period. Although virtually all religious Sarugaku performances of any importance began with Okina, there

is scarcely a mention of the piece being performed in Dengaku. Nose, however, has found a record of 1126 which associates the three figures now represented in Okina with Dengaku as well as with Sarugaku, though even this seems to show that they belonged primarily to the latter.(92) Another indication that Dengaku groups might have performed Okina comes from the 'Sarugaku dangi'(93). This states that, at ceremonies at the Hie Shrine, three Dengaku players used to wear black masks, and it is thought likely that these were the same as the black mask now worn only by the player in Okina who represents Sambaso(94). But such records of a possible connection between Okina and Dengaku are clearly very exceptional, and there is no doubt that the piece was intimately connected with Sarugaku alone. Zeami regarded it as the model of Sarugaku song and dance(95), and the drawing used to represent a Sarugaku player in an early sixteenth-century work is one of Okina himself(96). The greater popularity which Dengaku enjoyed in comparison to Sarugaku until late in the fourteenth century at first led scholars to assume that the Nō plays, though common to both forms, must have originated in Dengaku and been taken over by Sarugaku at some later date. But, when attention was drawn to the fact that Nō plays in Dengaku programmes were almost always referred to as 'Sarugaku', it was realized that this could only have been because the plays were primarily associated with, and had their origin in, Sarugaku(97). It is known that as many as six 'Sarugaku' pieces of this kind were being given in a single Dengaku programme by the year 1310, when they clearly formed the most important part of the

whole performance (98). The concentration directed by the Dengaku players on to this new attraction, which must surely have been the main cause of the 'Dengaku epidemic' in the early years of the fourteenth century, seems to have led to their neglect of the traditional Dengaku entertainments. As early as 1316, for example, the members of both the Honza and Shinza groups were reprimanded by the authorities of the Kōfuku-ji because, on the day of the Wakamiya Festival, all four performers on the taka-ashi had fallen from them in the course of the entertainments (99). The continued decline of the minor arts seems to have resulted in some of them being omitted altogether at time for, at a performance given in 1446 by the combined Honza and Shinza groups, juggling with knives was done by two players but the riding-pole did not figure at all among the items given (100).

Notes To Chapter VII.

1. TZN 320.
2. NG 1048-9.
3. See records qtd. NS under the years in question and NG 1053-4
4. Since the Manzai Jugō nikki mentions performances on three days, including the 22nd., and the Kammon gyoki states that there was one on the 23rd. (see NS 48), it appears that the performance in 1419 took place on four days. But, as all the others were on only three days and none on two consecutive days, it is likely that the writer of the Kammon gyoki was a day late with his entry.
5. See NG 697.
6. Kammon gyoki, qtd. NS 56.
7. After being exiled from his native place, he was kept in detention for long periods on several occasions; but the writer of the Kammon gyoki, qtd. NS 120, gives the news of his death in a brawl with the comment, 'Sad beyond measure. ...this will be a loss to Sarugaku here.'
8. NG 1063.
9. Bk.27 'Dengaku no koto', Yūhodō bunko ed. vol.29, 190-2.
10. The shogun Ashikaga Takauji, referred to in the text as Daiju 'Great Tree'.
11. The last Hōjō regent, who lived 1303-33.
12. More commonly known as Son-in Hō-shinnō, he was first appointed head of the Tendai sect in 1333.

13. Presumably on the chairs, to judge from screen paintings of the Momoyama period (1568-1615).

14. Chūmonguchi; see p.214.

15. A high-necked robe with cords threaded through the outer edges of the sleeves and hanging from the neck, front and back.

16. An instrument peculiar to Dengaku; see p.214-5.

17. The god worshipped at the Hiyoshi (or, strictly, Hie) Shrine at the foot of Mt. Hiei.

18. That is, the curtains hung in front of the boxes to shield the nobility from the public gaze.

19. For the examples given below, see records qtd. NS 124, 57, 63, 52, 120 and 173 respectively. Only the last of these falls outside the period mentioned, having been written in 1458.

20. Sansom, Japan: A Short Cultural History 371.

21. The sketches belong to the Tadasu-gawara kanjin Sarugaku nikki and another short work dealing with the same performance and known as the Ihon Tadasu-gawara Sarugakki. The two texts and the sketch belonging to the latter are given in Gunsho ruijū series 1, vol.19 bk.363, 717-23; the two sketches alone are reproduced NGZ nos. 40 & 41.

22. Uchi-mawashite; 'SD', TZN 320.

23. The 'SD', TZN 320, gives 1 ken as being 5 shaku, approximately 5 feet, but the term commonly indicated a kyō-ma, which was 6'6". In at least one case, it was even taken

as equivalent to 8 shaku (see Yamazaki, 'Nō butai', Nōgaku zensho vol.4, 7-8, on a performance in 1593). In the following discussion it has been taken as equal to 5 feet, and the figures therefore represent minimum distances.

24. 'SD', TZN 320.

25. See records qtd. NS 55, 101, 105 and 258.

26. 'SD', TZN 320.

27. ibid.

28. The figures in the Taihei-ki are probably correct since the performance was a particularly large one involving both the main Dengaku groups, and an arena measuring 86 ken, for example, is known to have been built for a Kanze performance in 1599 (see NGZ no.44). See p.198 on the size of the arena in 1349, however.

29. 'SD', TZN 320.

30. ibid.

31. NGZ no.44.

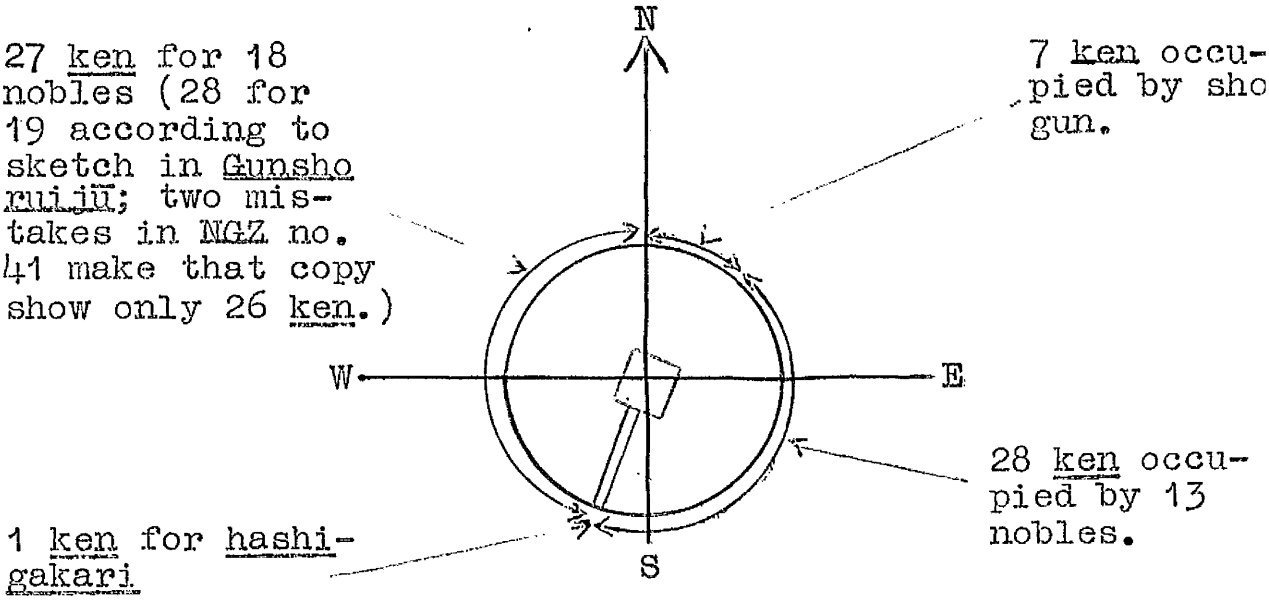
32. Takano, 'Nihon kodai engeki-shi', Nihon bungaku kōza vol.10, 39, and Kokugekishi gaikan, qtd. and followed by Takeuchi, NGZ 44.

33. TZN 320. The misinterpretation of this passage by Yamazaki, op.cit. 28, in which he was followed by Takeuchi, NGZ 66, led him to conclude that the hashi-gakari described in it was slanting; but see below on this.

34. The mention of a sun-awning, together with the information that the stage and hashi-gakari were roofed and the hand-

rail of the hashi-gakari was of bamboo etc., are given in the Tadasu-gawara kanjin Sarugaku nikki, op.cit. 721.

One of the sketches of the 1446 site (see NGZ no. 40) marks the hashi-gakari as being on the west and it is no doubt this that led Nose to say that the awning that ra along the back edge of the stage (ZJH vol.2, 500) was on the west side (ibid. 502). One of the texts, however, stat that the boxes occupied by the shogun faced south (Tadasu-gawara kanjin Sarugaku nikki, op.cit. 720) and this means that the stage would, necessarily, have faced north. This apparent contradiction between sketch and text may well have arisen because the position of the shogun's boxes resulted in the stage not facing north exactly. His seven sections are described as being on the 'east /side/, facin south' (ibid.); strictly speaking, therefore, the stage must have faced his boxes in the direction of N.N.E., so bringing the hashi-gakari on the far side of it into the west half of the arena, thus:



In general terms, therefore, there is no need to regard the stage on this occasion as differeing from the traditional north-facing Nō stage as found in NGZ nos. 39, 44, 67 etc.

35. See ZJH vol.2, 501-2 and n.34 above for explanations of thi

36. See NGZ no.44. Takano, Nihon engeki-shi 619, mentions that a record of the Kongō house states that the slanting hashi-gakari was first used in Nō in 1585.

37. Nor did the position of the hashi-gakari remain fixed from then on, for later paintings, sketches etc. show stages with bridges on the left, right, or both sides; or, sometimes, with no bridge at all. See NGZ nos. 21, 55, 59, 60, 50-2, 42 etc.

38. Takano, Nihon kayō-shi 344.

39. See NGZ nos. 6, 9, 10, 35, 36 etc.

40. See ibid. nos. 37-9.

41. For example, Gotō, Nihon gekijō-shi 61, and Takeuchi, NGZ 60.

42. NGZ no.40.

43. 'SD', TZN 320. For a discussion of various interpretations of the passage in question, see Kojima, 'Zeami no kanjin Nō no butai', in the periodical Nō 1952, vol.6 no.11.

44. ZJH vol.2, 500.

45. While there is no definite eveidence for including the chorus, a number of illustrations of stages from the Keichō period (1596-1614) onwards show no additional

section on the side, and in present-day performances of Okina the chorus does sit at the very back of the stage.

46. See NGZ no.55.

47. See Yamazaki, op.cit. 19, concerning the length of present-day hashi-gakari.

48. See Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NS 37.

49. Tadasu-gawara kanjin Sarugaku nikki; Kaei sandai-ki, qtd. NS 55, 58, etc.

50. See NG 1061.

51. ibid.

52. TZN 320.

53. ibid.

54. See, for example, NGZ nos. 72, 73, 82 and 84.

55. See NGZ nos. 21, 45, 47, 50, 89, 99 and 104 for examples of this kind in the period in question, and nos. 42, 53, 72, 73, 80, 81, 109, 111 and 116 for the present-day type of boarding in the same period.

56. Although it is not possible to arrange the illustrations mentioned into exact chronological sequence, a gradual change from one type of stage to another is indicated by a comparison of those attributed to the Keichō period (1596-1614) with those of the Kan-ei period (1624-43). But as the 'old' type of boarding is to be found in Kabuki stages as late as the second half of the 17th. century (see, e.g., Konakamura, Kabu ongaku ryakushi 147, 150-1; also reproduced by Gotō, op.cit. nos. 23 and 27),

this appearance of change is probably due only to the restricted material available.

57. 'Fūkyokushū', TZN 182.

58. 'SD', TZN 354.

59. 'Kadensho', TZN 22-3.

60. See Takano, Kabu ongyoku kōsetsu 216; Miyatake, Kasuga Wakamiya On-matsuri to Sarugaku 70 et.seq.

61. 'Fūkyokushū', TZN 182.

62. See 'SD', TZN 292-3, 306, 310. Zeami's discussion of the musical style of shūgen shows that it was a simple, basic one, as found in waki-nō, that led on to other types; see 'Go-ongyoku jōjō', TZN 186 on this.

63. A term which also signified, on occasions, a competitive performance between actors of different schools. See, for example, TZN 65 and 345.

64. 'SD', TZN 286-7.

65. See Miyatake, op.cit. 71-2.

66. See NG 1476-8.

67. ibid. and Ogata, Ōchō engei-shi 181.

68. See, for example, Furukawa, Kyōgen no kenkyū 2-3. See also Chap.II 35 above on the suggestion that the 'middle group' of a za may have contained the Kyōgen players.

69. Uchiyama Eikyū-ji kiroku, qtd. NG 1497-8, and Gempei seisuiki, qtd. Takano, Nihon engeki-shi 168.

70. In an article in Kanze (1955, vol.22 no.10, 3), Nishitsunoi derives okashi from the verb okasu 'transgress' and

equates it with the modoki of Dengaku (see p.215). But the reference to the okashi hōshi in the account of the 1349 Wakamiya Festival (see App.2, 390) and the use of the character 咲 'laughter' for okashi in an entry of 1432 in the Kammon gyoki (qtd. NS 101) seems to show that the word had nothing of that meaning then.

71. 'Shūdōsho', TZN 250.

72. Tadasu-gawara kanjin Sarugaku nikki, op. cit. 718-20.

73. 'Shūdōsho', TZN 248-9.

74. ibid. 250.

75. ibid.

76. Kammon gyoki, qtd. NS 47.

77. Manzai Jugō nikki, qtd. NS 76.

78. ibid., qtd. NS 84-5, and by Nonomura, 'Muromachi jidai no ennō jikan', Nōen nisshō 187.

79. Tadasu-gawara kanjin Sarugaku nikki, op.cit.

80. Bun-an Dengaku Nō-ki, contained in Gunsho ruijū series 1, vol.19 bk.363.

81. Nonomura, op.cit. 185-7.

82. Dengaku hōshi yurai no koto, contained in Shiseki shūran vol.16 bk.262.

83. Kabu ongyoku kōsetsu 99-100 etc.

84. Like Takano, Nishitsunoi (op.cit.) explains modoki as meaning a 'parody', supporting this by the use of the term in Dengaku and Kagura in certain parts of Shizuoka-ken where each piece given is immediately followed by a parodied

version. But, in view of the text given by Takano and the fact that modoki was given at the beginning of a performance, immediately after chūmonguchi, this does not seem a very satisfactory explanation of the use of the term in Nara Dengaku.

85. Gōke shidai, qtd. NG 1476, and Rakuyō Dengakki, contained in Gunsho ruijū series 1, vol.19 bk.711.

86. For example, by Nose, 'Nō no senkō geijutsu', Nōgaku zensho vol.2, 7; Geinō jiten 446; and Takano, Nihon bungaku daijiten vol.5, 160, who states that the distinction is clear in the Sairei e-maki of the Kitano Shrine. The single pole with the cross-piece is very similar to what is known to English children as a Pogo stick.

87. Shiojiri by Amano Nobukage, qtd. Takano, op.cit., and Ogata, Ōchō engei-shi 193.

88. See NG 1463.

89. See Ogata, op.cit. 193.

90. See, for example, the record of the 1349 Kasuga Wakamiya Festival (qtd. as App.2); the Tsukumogami sōshi e-maki illustrations (given in Kawatake, Nihon engeki zuroku, 20) the Kasuga Ōmiya Wakamiya go-sairei-zu (given in Takano, Kabu ongyoku kōsetsu 98 and Miyatake, Kasuga Wakamiya On-matsuri to Sarugaku 39); and, for a present-day use, Motoyama, Geinō minzoku zushi 8 and 10-1.

91. The Tsukumogami sōshi e-maki (qtd. Takano, ibid.9, and Kawatake, ibid.) illustrates issoku as a riding-pole with

a circular disc for the performer to stand on instead of a cross-bar, but no other example of this is known.

92. NG 1478-9.

93. TZN 344.

94. See NG 220-1.

95. 'SD', TZN 268.

96. The drawing, from the Shichijūichi-ban shokunin uta-awase, is reproduced in Konakamura, op.cit. 111.

97. See NG 367-70 for an account of this point. The Taihei-ki, for example, describes a Nō given in the great Dengaku subscription performance in 1349 as a 'Sarugaku' (see p. 192 above).

98. NG 369.

99. ibid. 1497.

100. Bun-an Dengaku Nō-ki, op.cit.

CHAPTER VIII

Sarugaku Nō Plays :

(1) The Plays Before Zeami.

It is estimated that about three thousand Nō plays have been written since the second quarter of the fourteenth century and that, of the thousand or so which date from the Muromachi period, about half have at some time been performed on the stage (1) Few of the remainder have ever been performed and even the names of some are no longer known, but almost all of the two hundred and forty or so plays in the repertoires of the Nō schools today were written before 1600. This shows the high quality of the plays of that period and, from this, the outstanding ability of Kan-ami and Zeami, for more than half the plays given today are the work of the one or the other. But so overwhelming in both number and quality were those written by Zeami that little can now be discovered about Nō plays before his time: he has always been unrivalled as a Nō playwright and, if earlier plays were not discarded altogether, they were often modified or recast by him.

One of the few sources of information about Nō plays in the period before Kan-ami was old enough to take any effective part in their development is the document describing performances at Nara in 1349 (2). The Sarugaku entertainment was given then by miko of the Kasuga Shrine but, as they had had lengthy training from Sarugaku masters, the Nō they gave may be taken as examples of the plays being used by the professional players of the time.

The miko were to have presented three plays but, as time was shor only two were given. The first of these depicted the story of Sat Norikiyo, better known as Saigyō, writing ten poems in one day for the retired emperor Toba and receiving gifts from him and the empress in return. It seems to have been closely based on the account of this given in the Saigyō monogatari (3), the actors who appeared taking the parts of the retired emperor, the empress the two retainers who delivered the gifts, Norikiyo himself and his companion Noriyasu. The second play is described as dealing with the illness of Izumi Shikibu and the visit to her of Murasaki Shikibu but, in spite of the literary associations of both, no source for this story has been found in earlier literature. The characters in this piece were the two lady writers, the god Musubu-no-kami, and two figures described in the text as 'flowers Judging from examples in later Nō, these last two roles may have represented the spirits of two types of flower. The connection between them, the god, and the two main figures is not known, but it seems at least possible that the flowers were the cherry and plum blossom and that they sybolized the two Court ladies (4); the god, who appeared last (5), was perhaps summoned to settle some dispute or rivalry between the two (6). No details are given about the third play other than the name, which was probably Fuji (7).

Neither of the plays which were performed is referr to by a short name but only by a somewhat cumbersome decription of the subject-matter. Since the document gives such details

about the performance as the names of the characters and players in each piece, the wearing of masks, the date when rehearsals began and where they were held, and even the names of the teacher it is inconceivable that the writer would not have known the shor names for the plays if there had been any. The fact that the thir piece is called simply Fuji lends weight to the idea that the other two had not yet evolved the short titles found in later Nō, including most, though not all, of the plays mentioned by Zeami in the Writings[8]. The reason for this may have been connected with the fact, evident from the same account, that Nō itself had not yet evolved the form in which the shite overshadows all other roles. Zeami ensured this dominance in the plays he himself wrote and advocated a complementary subordination of other roles in the manner of performance[9], but there is no sign that anything of the kind existed in 1349. The first play had six players and the second five and, although Norikiyo was presumably the main character in the first play, neither appears to give any precedence to one particular actor. The Shakesperian tragedies bear witness to the fact that even drama on the grand scale gains power and effectiveness in proportion to its concentration on one main character on whom the sympathies of the audience can focus. In Nō, which in its characteristic form does not set out the progression from cause and circumstance to the final result but is essentially a small-scale representation of one isolated incident, such concentration is a necessity if a piece is to be fully effective. Since the second Sarugaku play in the 1349 performance had both

Izumi and Murasaki, its dramatic force was probably weakened by a division of interest between these two characters, to say nothi of the other three. Another interesting point about the plays is that, so far as can be seen, both were presented in a straightforward way in one act as if the scene was taking place during the normal lifetime of the characters concerned. That is, they are what would now be known as 'present-life' plays (genzai-mono) and show no sign of the two-act form, so common in Nō, in which the spirit of someone long since dead appears first as an ordinar figure of the contemporary scene and then, after revealing his true identity and disappearing, returns in the form in which he was known when alive. It seems, then , that although earlier literature was already being widely used as material for Nō plays in the middle of the fourteenth century, the plays themselves were direct representations of stories with little or no dramatic unit

Kan-ami was only a boy of fifteen when this performance took place at the Kasuga Shrine, and if little is known about the plays before his time, even less is known about their authors. Before the discovery of Zeami's articles on the art of Nō, the high literary quality of the plays had led scholars to suppose that those which dated from the Muromachi period must have been written by members of a highly educated class and merel set to music by the Nō performers to whom they were traditionally ascribed. It was thought that the texts were the work either of members of the nobility who had become interested in the perfor

ances, or of priests, who not only had the education thought necessary but who would also have been concerned to see that the plays performed before the gods at religious festivals were worthy of the occasion. The Writings make it clear, however, that able players such as himself and Kan-ami before him were responsible for the texts of plays as well as for their music and dances[10].

What happened about the writing of plays even earlie in the first half of the fourteenth century, is still uncertain. The musical settings were almost certainly the work of the profess ional performers themselves[11], but their ability to write the texts at this time is a matter of some doubt. Being only popular entertainers with low places in the society of the time, Nō player can rarely have had much, or indeed any, education. This was true even of famous players. Kiami, for one, could hardly read the text of a play[12] and Jūni-gorō was quite illiterate[13]. Furthermore, the fact that all four of the plays mentioned in the 1349 document were based on earlier literature may be thought to indicate that the writers had not only attained literacy but were widely read; and if the players themselves cannot be credited with suffic ient learning for this, the most likely alternative seems to be the priests. The now discarded theory of priests having written Nō plays may, therefore, have some basis if it is limited to the period before Kan-ami. One play is, in fact, known to have been written by a priest, for the 'Sarugaku dangi' states that 'Shii no shōshō was originally written by a travelling priest in Yamato

and played by Komparu Gon-no-kami at Tō-no-mine, but it was revised later.[14] A few others are known to have been written by amateurs[15]. Most of these date from the late fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, but Zeami mentions that the play Uki-fune, for which he wrote the music, was the work of an amateur called Yokō Mitsuhisa[16] who must, therefore, have been contemporary with, or earlier than, Zeami.

Yet the possibility that professional players before Kan-ami wrote Nō plays cannot be dismissed. Even though the majority were uneducated, there may well have been others who like Kan-ami himself, were literate enough to put together the text of a play. It is true that, from 1374 onwards, Kan-ami enjoyed the favours of the shogun Yoshimitsu and this may have given him an unusual opportunity of leisure in which to study. But, since this period covered only the last ten years of his life, it is unlikely that it accounted for the whole of his studies. In any case, Dengaku groups had received lavish patronage for more than fifty years before those of Sarugaku and this would have given their players all the advantages enjoyed later by Kan-ami. If it is allowed that he wrote Nō, therefore, there is no reason to deny the same capabilities to certain of his predecessors.

Underlying this whole question of authorship is the problem of what was entailed in the writing of a Nō play at this time. There are, of course, no texts of early plays in their original form from which to judge, and even those few pieces known

to have been the work of Kan-ami have probably been modified to some extent by later hands. In the absence of such texts, however we may assume that the plays before the time of Kan-ami were no doubt a good deal less polished from a literary point of view than those produced during the lifetime of Zeami and, in the light of what is known about the plays of 1349 mentioned above, certain a good deal looser and simpler in form. Is it likely that early Nō actors of only modest literary ability were able to create such plays with the material at their disposal?

The most important point to be considered in this connection is that the composition of Nō plays did not necessarily require a high degree of literary or dramatic ability. There was certainly scope for literary talents, as Zeami showed so well, but the basic requirement was rather the skill to blend together old songs, poems, and stories dealing with a suitable literary or historical figure or famous place. Zeami himself, recognizing the advantage of using such material, said, 'Old literary passages, old poems, and even writings of ones own which strike the hearer as familiar, are suitable for Nō. Anything which is too deep is not readily understood.'(17) Many of these songs and poems appeared not only in works of earlier literature but also in the wide variety of popular entertainments so characteristic of the period. Through these, numbers of songs and poems became universally known and, as popular entertainers using similar material themselves, Nō players would have been especially well

acquainted with the stock-in-trade of their rivals. Greater familiarity with poetry and facility in verse-making were often acquired at parties where renga or 'linked verses' were composed. In the Heian period this type of verse-making consisted of one person composing the first three lines of the traditional five-line poem and another person the last two. By the beginning of the Kamakura period its popularity had increased and there was a vogue for a more developed form, a kind of 'chain verse' in which three more lines were added to the last part of one complete poem and followed in their turn, by two more lines; the process was repeated until fifty or a hundred parts had been strung together. The renga reached its height in the Muromachi period, however, when it became a craze indulged in by all classes. Zeami pointed out the practical advantages of an interest in poetry (18) and, as a group whose livelihood depended in large measure on the arts of poetry and song, Nō performers were probably more interested in renga than most other people. It is not surprising, therefore, that the subject should have been familiar enough for Zeami to refer to a change in style at renga gatherings to illustrate a point of his own (19). Stories from certain types of earlier literature were also readily available, even to those unable to use written texts. The military epics on which so many Nō plays have been based were familiar to all from the dramatic recitations of the biwa-hōshi. These blind minstrels began by merely playing the biwa but, towards the end of the Heian period, they came to use this four-stringed instrument to accompany recitations which often describe

among other things, the stories of famous shrines and temples. In the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, the material they used consisted overwhelmingly of the military epics, above all the Heike monogatari, dealing with the struggle between the Taira and Minamoto clans. Usually they gave these dramatic narrations in the grounds of shrines and temples, beside the various other entertainers who congregated there. At times, though, nobles and warriors would summon them to perform at banquets in their house and, on such occasions in the Muromachi period, they would not confine themselves to the recitation of war tales but would also sing rōei, ko-uta and the like to add variety to their performances. Although they are known to have existed in many parts of Japan, they flourished most in the capital and their popularity there may be judged from the estimate that, in 1462, more than five hundred of them were to be found in the area of Kyōto alone (20) Finally, but most important of all, the would-be writers of Nō plays must have found excellent models in some forms of the Enne entertainments given after ceremonies in Buddhist temples, in particular, in those known as Tsurane, Dai-furyū and Shō-furyū about which something has already been said (21). Tsurane seems to have been the earliest of these, the first known record of a performance being dated 1310. All three were based on various types of song and dance and often used ten or more players and elaborate properties representing such things as palaces and temples. Their texts were in the form of conversation-pieces reminiscent of the rongi in Nō. In the case of Tsurane, this

served to make a setting for songs and dances like roei and those associated particularly with Shirabyōshi, which were thus contained within the piece as a whole; and in the case of Furyū, it introduced either a Bugaku dance in Dai-furyū, or a dance derived from Bugaku in Shō-furyū. The connection between these forms of Ennen Nō and Sarugaku and Dengaku Nō, especially the question of which arose first, is still uncertain and an examination of it would require a separate study, but the similarities between the two are so striking that they leave little doubt that there was such a connection. Tsurane and Furyū have roles equivalent to the waki in Nō, michiyuki and chorus parts, and are constructed in a way which combines song and dance with stories mostly religious in content but often dealing with Chinese subjects or incidents in earlier secular literature. Even if Nō, as the combination of song, dance, and mimicry, did not begin in Ennen, and Dengaku and Sarugaku players did not learn from it how songs and dances could be fitted into the presentation of a particular incident on the stage, the Ennen of the priests may still have provided these players with ready-made material for their own performances in the first half of the fourteenth century. Since Dengaku and Sarugaku often formed part of the religious ceremonies preceding Ennen and were themselves sometimes given as additional items in the Ennen entertainments, the players would have had ample opportunity to see the temple performances. They would thus have been introduced to stories which they could use and made still more familiar with a variety of songs and dances. Tsurane and Furyū

are themselves simple forms of the Nō of Zeami, and the composition of similar pieces by Nō players before the time of Kan-ami would have required little more than choosing and arranging stories, poems, songs and dances with which they were already familiar, and introducing and linking them by spoken passages. Certainly, Zeami did not overrate the difficulties involved in this: 'The writing of Nō texts is the life-blood of our art. Even if one does not possess outstanding brilliance, dexterity itself will lead to a good Nō.'(22) The lack of education of early players at first seems inconsistent with Zeami's statement that, after the deaths of Kan-ami, Inuō, and Kiami 'such supreme skill as theirs died out and, as there were no longer any masters, writers of Nō disappeared in both Ōmi and Dengaku.'(23) As the previous quotation makes clear, however, the main factor was not literary ability but skill in the various arts of Nō as a whole. Indeed, Nō plays in general contain so many grammatical irregularities that they were the main cause of a wholesale but short-lived revision of the Kanze texts carried out in the eighteenth century by scholars headed by Kamo Mabuchi. In view of the circumstances described above, therefore, there is no reason to doubt that Sarugaku and Dengaku had players, even before the time of Kan-ami who were responsible for complete Nō plays, although these may have lacked the dramatic effect and literary beauty and complexity of some of those written later.

Thus, although some pieces are known to have been

written originally by priests or other amateurs, the other plays, probably the majority, were produced by the professional players themselves. It was a great advantage to actors to write their own plays, if they were to hold their own in competitions with other players. Zeami explains this in the 'Kadensho'(24) : 'One should have a number of Nō and perform something different in style from that given by a rival. That is why I said in the Introduction that one should have some taste for poetry. When the author of a particular Nō is someone other than himself, /the actor/ is never completely at ease with it however skilful he may be. When it is his own work, words and actions are just as he intended. Thus, if a man able to perform Nō has the corresponding ability, there will be no difficulty in his composing Sarugaku.....However skilful he may be, an actor without Nō /of his own/ is like a warrior who though brave enough to face alone a thousand of the enemy, goes unarmed ob to the field of battle.' But, in fact, to talk of 'writing' a Nō in the early period suggests a more formal process than was often the case, for many pieces must have resulted from the adoption and alteration of what was being performed in other types of entertainment or of what had been produced earlier in the same line. The players would necessarily have had the last word as to the final form in which a piece was given. Even if a text was put together by other hands, the elements of music and dance which are also needed to make a complete Nō must usually have been left to them. If a player found it convenient to alter

the text in the process, there would come a point when it could fairly be credited to him rather than to the original writer. As a result, the confusion and uncertainty about the authorship of many Nō plays is often no more than a reflection of the changes undergone by the plays themselves. Whatever their origin, however, Nō plays of the early Muromachi period have a common characteristic: they were written to be performed, often by particular actors[25], and not to be read. In this they differed fundamentally from the hundreds of Nō plays written as literary diversions in the Tokugawa period, which were as much closet plays as anything produced in the west by such writers as Seneca and Racine.

In order to discover something of the plays that were written and performed in the period of about thirty years between the performances at the Kasuga Shrine in 1349 and the time when Zeami would have been able to begin writing, we must seek those written, set to music, or acted by Kan-ami and his contemporaries. The plays of this period were, to Zeami, in an 'old style' and the almost inescapable revisions which this provoked now make it impossible to be sure that the present texts of plays known to date from this period are still in their original form. Of the dozen or so Nō plays (as distinct from Kusemai) known to have been the work of Kan-ami, for example, only the one called Fushimi seems likely to have survived unchanged[26]. The evidence for plays having been modified is mostly fragmentary, often consisting of no more than the same piece being attributed to different writers by different early works. It is, therefore, difficult

to know how much of the original writer's work remains but, just as alterations to a building usually mean a modification of the internal arrangement rather than a change in the main structure of the building itself, so in Nō revisions of a work have mostly entailed changes in textual detail. Where greater changes were thought necessary, a completely new play was usually written or, at least, a new name given to the piece, probably to avoid confusion with the original play which other groups would often have continued to perform. As a result, the hand of the original writer is to be most clearly seen in such fundamental elements as the subject-matter, roles, and general structure. The more detailed the point discussed, the less certain is it that it was part of the original The present purpose, however, is not to consider the characteristics of any particular author. It is to see, if possible, what plays were being performed during the period in question and what general trends emerged in their development from one age to the next. In this, it is the fundamentals that are of greatest importance. Furthermore, at least in the case of this early period, consideration need not be limited to plays which can be said with some certainty to have been written by Kan-ami or one of his contemporaries. Plays which can be shown to have been performed, or to have had their music written by, one or other of them will serve as equally valid material for a general view of the period provided always that too much reliance is not placed on the detail of such plays as they exist at the present time.

The main sources of information about the authors of plays written during the Muromachi period are the Writings of Zeami and various lists of plays and authors compiled within the schools of Nō[27]. The most important of these are the Kanze Tayū kaki-age (hereafter referred to in lists and notes as KTK) and the Komparu Hachizaemon kaki-age (KHK), which were compiled in the middle of the seventeenth century at the direction of the Tokugawa authorities; the Nō-hon sakusha chūmon (NSC), written in 1524 from information provided by Kanze Yajirō Nagatoshi; the Jika densho (JD), a work handed down in the Komparu house and thought to date from the late Muromachi period[28]; the Ko-kayō sakusha-kō (KS) and a variant text, the Ihon ōkyoku sakusha (IOS) which clearly derive from the Nō-hon sakusha chūmon; and the Nihyakujū-ban utai mokuroku (NUM), which was compiled by Kanze Sakon Motoakira in 1765 from a number of the earlier works.

The Writings of Zeami, supported in many cases by some of the later lists, indicate that among complete Nō[29] written by Kan-ami were those called Komachi, Furu, Jinen koji, Shii no Shōshō, Tōrō, Fushimi, Kōya, Mekura-uchi, Tōru no otodo, Shizuka,[30] Matsukaze, and Saga no Dai-nembutsu no onna-mono-gurui[31]. The 'Sarugaku dangi' shows that, in addition, Shōshō, Sumiyoshi no sengū and Kusa-kari were performed by him, and the 'Go-on' that Eguchi no yūjo and Motomezuka had music by him. All these plays were therefore in existence before 1384, the date of Kan-ami's death, but Mekura-uchi, Shōshō, Sumiyoshi no sengū,

Tōrō and Tōru no otodo are now lost and little is known of them. It is known, however, that Mekura-uchi was a 'woman-play'[32]; and, from a connection between Sumiyoshi no sengū and Kuzu no hakama[33] that the former dealt with an Imperial envoy's journey to Sumiyoshi and his meeting there with an old man who talked to him of the Ise monogatari; and the 'Sarugaku dangi'[34] describes the last two as 'devil-plays' and makes it clear that they were in two acts. The others can be connected with extant plays: Komachi with Sotoba Komachi[35], Jinen koji with the one of the same name[36], Furu also with one of the same name[37], Shii no Shōshō with Kayoi Komachi[38], Fushimi with Kinsatsu[39], Kōya with Kōya monogurui[40] Shizuka with Yoshino Shizuka[41], Matsukaze with the one of the same name[42], Saga no Dai-nembutsu no onna-monogurui with Hyakuman[43], Kusa-kari with Yokoyama[44], and Eguchi no yūjo with Eguchi[45]. With the exception of Furu and Yokoyama, all these extant plays are in the present repertoires of the schools of Nō[46]

Plays which are credited to Kan-ami by later lists without the backing of a mention in the Writings can only be ascribed to him with a good deal less certainty than those given above, but Awaji, Shirahige and Jōgū Taishi were definitely connected with him if only because the Nō plays having these names used earlier sung pieces by him. All three are given under his name in the Kanze Tayū kaki-age, but the 'Go-on' (or, in the case of Awaji, a variant text of this) gives them as Kusemai by Kan-ami and it is impossible to know whether the attribution in the Kaki-

age was based on anything more than this. Other plays given as his work in lists include Dōjō-ji, Matsu-no-o, Maki-ginu, Hachi no ki and Sōshi-arai Komachi. There are many doubts about the authorship of Dōjō-ji and all five plays are to be found in other lists under the name of Zeami, but the strong dramatic element in the last three make it more likely that they at least originated with his father. Finally, the Jika denshō also gives Kikusui, Sanzō, Shinobu no Tarō, Shosa and Ro-shakuhachi as having been written by Kan-ami. All these plays exist still and there are mentions of some of them at early dates: Sanzō is given in the Kammon gyoki under the name Sanzō hōshi in an entry for 1432 (47); Ro-shakuhachi, if this is the same as the play known as Rō-shaku-hachi or Shakuhachi, is mentioned in the 'Sarugaku dangi' (48) as a Dengaku play performed by Zōami; and both Shakuhachi and Shosa (as Shosha) appear in the Bun-an Dengaku Nō-ki account of the Dengaku performance in 1446 (49). But if these five plays are given at all in other lists their author is said to be unknown, and since the Jika denshō seems unreliable in its references to the plays of Kan-ami in that the ones it credits to him are not those known with some certainty from other sources to have been by him, the value of its unsupported evidence in the case of these plays must be considered doubtful.

The early death of Kan-ami, when he was only fifty or so, meant that he was outlived by most of his contemporaries. Strictly speaking, therefore, their plays cannot be limited to

such an early date as his, but as they were of his generation and are unlikely to have changed their performances to any great extent during the last years of their lives, the plays they used can fairly be regarded as examples of what was performed in the period before Zeami. That he considered them as belonging to the past is shown by the fact that even Inuō, who did not die until 1413 when Zeami was fifty, is classed by him with Itchū, Kan-ami and Kiami as one of the fathers of Nō[50]. Apart from Inuō, Kongō Gon-no-kami and Komparu Gon-no-kami are the only Sarugaku players active in the same period as Kan-ami about whose plays anything of value can be discovered.

Being identified with the player called Sakato Magotarō Ujiakira in the genealogical tables of the Kongō house, Kongō Gon-no-kami is thought to have lived from 1328 to 1399[51], and is credited with a number of plays: Aku Genda, Utennō, Kumatekiri, Genjō, Sanada, Zashiki-ron, Saigū ema, Jikken Sanemori, Jōmyōhō, Tori-oi, Hime-komatsu, Muma-koi, and Ujiyama[52]. Unfortunately, no fewer than ten of these thirteen plays stand in his name through the unsupported testimony of the Jika denshō. These are Saigū ema which, as Ema, is still in the Nō repertoire[53]; Aku Genda, Utennō, Sanada, Zashiki-ron, Jikken Sanemori, and Muma-koi[54], the texts of which are still extant; and Kumatekiri[55], Jōmyōhō, and Hime-komatsu which are now known only by name. Of the other three, Ujiyama is likewise no longer extant, but both Genjō and Tori-oi are to be found in the modern repertoire. Although the author of

these last two plays is given as Kongō in both the Jika denshō and the Nihyakujū-ban utai mokuroku, this adds little to the probability of its being correct as the Jika denshō was one of the works from which the latter was compiled. What is more, other lists give Genjō as the work of Kawakami no Kannushi, a figure whose identity is a matter of doubt. It is clear, therefore, that Kongō Gon-no-kami cannot be regarded as the author of any one of these plays with very great certainty, but it is unlikely that the attributions in the Jika denshō could have been altogether without foundation.

It is not known exactly when Komparu Gon-no-kami lived but, since he was the grandfather of Zenchiku and performed Shii no Shōshō before it was rewritten by Kan-ami (56), he was at least no younger than him. The one play known to have been composed by him still exists and is in the modern repertoire. This is Ōshōkun, now called Shōkun, which Zeami lists under his name in the 'Go-on' (57). In addition to Shii no Shōshō, he is known to have performed Kashiwazaki, probably both in its original form as written by Enami Saemon Goro and in its present form as revised by Zeami (58).

Inuō wrote music for Nō (59) and, although there is no definite record of his writing the texts of plays, Zeami implied that he did this too when he spoke of writers of Nō dying out in both Ōmi Sarugaku and Dengaku after the deaths of Inuō and Kiami.

The 'Sarugaku dangi' mentions that he performed plays called Aoi no Ue, Nembutsu, 'Tennyo', Shiba-fune, Morikata, and Ko wa ko nite naki, and as the last three have not been found attributed to any other writer, it is possible that they were written by Inuō himself. Tennyo is, in fact, the name of a type of role, that of a supernatural female such as a goddess, and not the name of a particular play; but Zeami uses the term in describing Inuō's performance in a play which he does not specify by name (60) and it is convenient to use it here to indicate that play. The piece in question is thought to have been a version of Taema (61); this and Aoi no Ue are in the present repertoire. The other four plays no longer exist and all that is known of them is what is mentioned in the Writings. From this, it seems that Nembutsu was similar to the present Hyakuman and that Morikata was not a warrior-spirit play (shura-mono) but a 'present-life' play (genzai-mono) in which the characters included Morikata, his wife, and his mother (62). The usual lists of plays and authors do not mention Inuō, but the 'Zempō Sarugaku dangi' (63) states that the Nō Go was by him. The Jika densho brings this into doubt by giving Zeami as the author but, on balance, the earlier record citing Inuō should be the more reliable.

In the following list the plays shown to have been connected with, but not necessarily written by, these actors have been arranged according to the traditional five groups, together with the number of acts and the roles (64) where these are known.

Alternative names for them have been added in brackets, and when a play is thought to be directly connected with one in the modern repertoires, the present name has been given in block capitals. To give some idea of the structure and nature of the plays, they have been described as consisting of either one act, two acts or, when the shite makes a change of costume and character without leaving the stage, two scenes; and either as a 'spirit play' (that is, one based on the appearance of a spirit, usually that of a dead person or a god), as a 'drama' (that is, a play in which the dramatic content is important), or as a combination of the two (65).

FIRST GROUP (God Plays)

Kan-ami: AWAJI. Two-act spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), tsure, shite; nochi-shite.

Furu. Two-act spirit play: waki, shite; nochi-shite.

Fushimi (KINSATSU). Two-act spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), shite; nochi-shite.

Jōgū Taishi. Two-act spirit play: waki, shite; nochi-zure, nochi-shite.

? Kikusui. Two-act spirit play: waki, (? 2 waki-zure), shite; nochi-shite.

? MATSU-NO-O. Two-act spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), tsure, shite; nochi-shite.

SHIRAHIGE, Two-scene spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), tsure, shite; nochi-shite, 2 nochi-zure.

Sumiyoshi no sengū.

Kongō: Saigu ema (EMA). Two-scene spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), tsure, shite; nochi-zure, nochi-shite nochi-zure.

Total: 9 plays.

SECOND GROUP (Warrior-spirit plays)

Kan-ami: Shinobu no Tarō (Shinobu, Shinobu Kagetoshi). Two-act (?) spirit play: waki, shite; nochi-shite.

Total: 1 play.

THIRD GROUP (Woman Plays)

Kan-ami: Eguchi no yūjo (EGUCHI). Two-act spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), kyōgen, shite; nochi-zure, nochi-shite.

MATSUKAZE (early version) (Matsukaze Murasame). One-act spirit play: waki, kyōgen, tsure, shite.

Mekura-uchi.

Shizuka (YOSHINO SHIZUKA). Two-act drama: waki, shite, 2 kyōgen; waki, nochi-shite.

? Shosa (? Shosha, Izumi Shikibu). One-act drama: waki, shite, (tsure), kyōgen.

SŌSHI-ARAI KOMACHI. Two-act drama: waki, kyōgen, shite; ko-kata, nochi-shite, 3 nochi-zure, (2 nochi-zure), waki.

Inuō: ? Go (Go Utsusemi). Two-act spirit play: waki, shite, tsure; nochi-shite.

Total: 7 plays.

FOURTH GROUP (Miscellaneous Plays)

Kan-ami: ? DŌJŌ-JI. Two-scene drama: waki, (2 waki-zure), 2 kyō-gen, shite; nochi-shite.

HACHI NO KI. Two-act drama: tsure, waki, shite, kyōgen; waki, waki-zure, kyōgen, nochi-shite.

JINEN KOJI (early version). One-act drama: kyōgen, shite ko-kata, waki, waki-zure.

Komachi (SOTOBA KOMACHI). One-act drama: waki, (waki-zure), shite.

Kōya (early version of KŌYA MONOGURUI). Two-act drama: shite, kyōgen, ko-kata, waki, (waki-zure); nochi-shite.

Kusa-kari (Yokoyama). Two-act drama: waki, shite, tsure, tsure, (tsure); nochi-shite, waki.

MAKI-GINU. One-act drama: waki, kyōgen, tsure, shite.

MOTOMEZUKA. Two-scene spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), 3 tsure, shite; nochi-shite.

? Ro-shakuhachi (Rō-shakuhachi, Shakuhachi). One-act drama: waki, shite, tsure.

Saga no Dai-nembutsu no onna-monogurui (HYAKUMAN). One-act drama: ko-kata, waki, kyōgen, shite.

Shii no Shōshō (early version of KAYOI KOMACHI). One-act spirit play: waki, tsure, shite.

Kongō: Aku Genda. One-act drama: waki, shite, tsure.

Jikken Sanemoni. One-act drama: shite, tsure, (tsure), waki.

Muma-koi. One-act drama: shite, tsure, waki, (waki-zure

TORI-OI (TORI-OI-BUNE). Two-act drama: ko-kata, shite, waki-zure; waki, kyōgen, ko-kata, nochi-shite, waki-zure.

Komparu: KASHIWAZAKI. Two-act drama: waki, shite, ko-kata, waki-zure; nochi-shite.

Shii no Shōshō (see entry above).

Inuō: AOI NO UE. Two-scene drama: tsure, waki-zure, kyōgen, shite, waki; nochi-shite.

Morikata. Shite, 2 tsure....

Nembutsu.

Total: 19 plays.

FIFTH GROUP (Devil & Ghost Plays)

Kan-ami: ? Sanzō (Sanzō hōshi, Dai-hannya). Two-act dramatic spirit play: waki, shite, (tsure); 2 nochi-zure, nochi-shite.

Tōrō. Two-act spirit play.

Tōru no otodo (early version of TŌRU ?). Two-act spirit play.

Kongō: GENJŌ. Two-act dramatic spirit play: tsure, waki, (2 waki-zure), tsure, shite; nochi-shite, nochi-zure.

Utennō. Two-act (?) spirit play: waki, shite; nochi-shite nochi-zure.

Komparu: Ōshōkun (SHŌKUN). Two-act spirit drama: waki, tsure, shite; ko-kata, nochi-shite.

Inuō: 'Tennyo' (TAEMA ?). Two acts.

Total: 7 plays.

The total number of these plays is thus forty-three approximately one-sixth of the number in the present repertoires. Since their distribution is consistent in having in each group a similar proportion of the plays of different actors, and since they have been taken from a number of different sources, the list seems reliable enough for the number of plays in each group to be taken as a fair indication of the frequency and, hence, the popularity of that type of play at the time. The modern repertoires still show a wide variation in the numbers of plays in the five groups: if the total is taken as two hundred and forty, thirty-nine are in the first group, sixteen in the second, thirty

eight in the third, ninety-four in the fourth, and fifty-three in the fifth. It is interesting to note that the plays known to have existed in the time of Kan-ami show much the same proportions. If, as a basis of comparison, the figures for the plays in the modern repertoires are reduced to one-sixth and are followed by the numbers in the above list, the following approximate results are obtained: first group, 6.5 (9); second group, 3 (1); third group, 6 (7); fourth group, 16 (19); fifth group, 9 (7). The list has so few plays in each group, however, that even though it seems to be reliable so far as it goes, it can only be taken to suggest possibilities and not, without other evidence, to justify conclusions.

The most striking thing about the list is the almost complete absence of warrior-spirit plays, which form the second of the five traditional groups. Even the one play that does represent this group is only doubtfully attributed to Kan-ami, but there seems no reason to think that such plays were not performed at all in his lifetime. The warrior-spirit role is discussed in the 'Kadensho' (66) as one of the standard types, and it is clear from the construction of plays in other groups in the list that the 'spirit' type of Nō was already in use in the time of Kan-ami. Other plays are presented as if the audience were watching a scene from real life while it was taking place but, in the 'spirit' play, a local person usually meets a traveller arriving at a place with historical or literary associations and, after talking with him about the place and the person for whom it is famous, vanishe

from sight only to reappear later in his true form as that very person. This form of play, which first presents a dead person speaking and behaving as an ordinary living man, would not have seemed at all strange to the audiences of the period, for such happenings were familiar to all. In Japanese folk tales, for example, people are frequently possessed by animals such as badgers and foxes (67). It was also a common practice to communicate with those who were dead or far away through the help of mediums, often miko attached to shrines, whose bodies would be temporarily possessed by the spirit of the absent person. It is, indeed, possible that the 'spirit' type of Nō was a direct adaptation of this practice to which was added, for dramatic purposes, a second act showing the dead person as he was in life (68). The apparent reluctance to apply this form of play to stories of famous warriors before the time of Zeami may simply have been because Nō had not yet reached the same degree of aesthetic refinement as it did under his guidance and, being a more robust form of entertainment, treated such stories as suitable material for plays with dash and drama rather than the restraint inevitable in reminiscent descriptions of battle by a single character. The realistic and, it would seem , more popular kind of warrior play is well represented by the plays of Kongō Gon-no-kami. Zeami, on the other hand, disdained the cheap acclaim won by actors who played warrior roles and the like (69) and would only admit that warrior-spirit plays were worthwhile if they had an air of elegance and beauty (70).

In general, however, he thought that 'There is little interest in them even when they are well done. They should not, therefore, be given all that often.'(71)

Kongō, however, was not concerned with the aesthetic representation of the spirits of famous soldiers. To him the natural setting for such figures was some brave military incident from real life. With the exception of Tori-oi, all his fourth-group plays deal with warriors and are comparatively dramatic in content. Aku Genda is the story of the capture of Yoshihirs at Ishiyama-dera. Sanada is a battle scene showing the death of Sanada Yoichi. Jikken Sanemori is based on the story of the aged warrior who dyed his white hair black so that he might be able to play a full part in battle like a young man, and shows the identification of his head after his death in battle when it is washed in a pond and the dye removed. Muma-koi describes how Yoritomo gave the famous horse Ikezuki to Sasaki Takatsuna after he had refused to give it to Kajiwara Kagesue and how, when Takatsuna and Kagesue then meet before a battle, the latter is placated by being told that the horse has been stolen. Zashiki-ron is also set in real life, but it is less direct and dramatic than the others in that it represents a group of warriors telling of their battle experiences at a banquet.

The plays in the list which fall into the fourth group outnumber the plays in all the other groups put together and Kongō, Kan-ami, and Inuo - and Komparu, for what his contribution is worth - all have more plays in this section than in any

other. The plays of Kan-ami, however, are markedly different from those of Kongō. None of them, except, to a small extent, Hachi no ki, has anything of military valour or the excitement of battle. Instead, they are gentle in tone, as befits the frequent use of female roles seen in his plays. Of his eleven fourth-group plays, six have a female character in the main role, and two of the others, Shii no Shōshō and Kusa-kari, have female roles which are of scarcely less importance than those of the present shite. The difference between Kongō's tendency to excitement and violence and Kan-ami's quieter and more subtle approach is well illustrated by the plays Tori-oi and Kusa-kari which are somewhat similar in construction, even though the latter cannot be shown to have been written by Kan-ami. In Tori-oi, Kongō depicts the anger of a man of rank who returns to his estates after a long stay in the capital to find that his wife and son have been put to work scaring birds away from the crops. Kusa-kari, on the other hand, is the story of a man who, with his lands usurped and his cousin long absent in Kamakura trying to obtain justice for him, grows ever more poverty-stricken and deserted until, finally, only he and his wife remain. Then, one day, when he himself has gone out to cut grass for his starving horse, an old love of his from Kamakura comes to the house. His wife does not grow angry and turn her away, but entertains her and then hurries out to meet her husband with fresh robes for him to wear so that he might pretend to be returning from a hunt and so hide his true state from his guest. Kan-ami also made frequent and skilful use of

kyōgen roles within the action of a play, and this, too, is at variance with thee practice of Kongō who is only known to have used such a role in his Tori-oi. There is, however, a more basic difference between the two men for, in his fourth-group plays, K Kan-ami shows a distict leaning towards stories of madness or mental suffering. Shii no Shōshō and all the plays with a female character in the main role except Maki-ginu have such affliction as their main element. There is, perhaps, no better evidence of the ability of Kan-ami and of his part in the development of Nō than his success in winning and maintaining his popularity among the varied audiences of the day by the use of such material, while contemporaries like Kongō Gon-no-kami were content with pieces which had a more immediate appeal and demanded less from both player and audience.

Quietness, elegance, and restraint are the sources of the beauty known as yūgen (72), and Kan-ami had complete mastery of such a style. His uncommon ability to entertain audiences by means of it is shown by the fact that all the 'woman plays' known with any certainty to date from this period are connected with him. As Zeami shows by his statement that woman roles 'may be called the basic style of yūgen' (73), it is in plays of the third group above all others that the elegance and beauty of yūgen find their fullest expression; and, although Kan-ami was not the first player or the only one of his generation to portray it in Nō and it represented only one of a number of styles he had at his command, it is no doubt true to say that his skill in the yūgen style

was unrivalled in his day, in Yamato Sarugaku at least.

Kan-ami's standing in comparison with his contemporaries in Ōmi Sarugaku and Dengaku, however, is impossible to determine from an examination of the plays known to have been performed by them, since these are so few. Kan-ami and Kongō Gon-no-kami can be discussed and compared with some validity, but reservations must be made, even with them. Since the Writings of Zeami were one of the main sources of information about the plays of Kan-ami, many of his less aesthetic, more dramatic plays which did not suit Zeami's taste are likely to have been passed over, and those that have been mentioned are, inevitably, disproportionately numerous compared with others of the period. Similarly, on a broader scale, the fact that only the schools of Yamato Sarugaku and some of their records have survived to the present day means that the players of other Sarugaku groups are hardly represented. Inuō, in particular, has suffered from so few of his plays being known. For these reasons, the number of plays attributed to an individual player in the list can in no way be taken as an indication of his comparative fame or ability.

Ōmi Sarugaku placed yūgen before everything else, and Inuō could therefore be expected to have performed more plays in this style than are shown in the list. Yūgen in Nō is not limited to any particular type of play, but it is true to say that it is generally found most in woman plays of the third group and least in plays of the fourth and fifth groups. But, strangely

enough, the known plays of Inuō, apart from Go, all belong to these last two groups. Since he was the greatest player of Ōmi Sarugaku, learned from Itchū of Dengaku as Kan-ami did, and was classed with them and Kiami as one of the fathers of Nō, he was certainly one of those Zeami had in mind when he said that 'those whose reputations have lasted have all followed yūgen.'(74) In fact, to judge from the present-day play Taema which, although belonging to the fifth group, is a stately and elegant haya-mai mono, 'Tennyo' at least was not lacking in the beauty of yūgen. The failure of the list to support what is known about Inuō from other sources can only be due to the inadequacy of our knowledge of his plays.

The fifth group also has plays connected with all four of the actors who appear in the list. The typical role in such plays is usually given as that of an oni, a devil or demon, but by no means all the plays in this group in the modern repertoire have such a role and only three of the seven plays in this part of the list appear to have done so. The term oni, which does not necessarily mean something evil, is now used only of an essentially supernatural being and not, say, of the spirit of a dead person. But if plays with such a role now form only part of the fifth group, Zeami seems to have used the term in a much wider meaning, for he applied it to roles in plays which would not now be put into the fifth group at all(75). In a section dealing with oni in the 'Kadensho'(76), he mentions 'true oni from Hell', corresponding to the type referred to above, and also oni in the

form of spirits which are in anger or have taken possession of someone. When he spoke of 'true devils from Hell', he obviously meant such parts as those of the nochi-shite in Ukai who represents Emma, the King of Hell, and is referred to as an oni in the 'Sarugaku dangi'(77), and the nochi-shite in Tōru no otodo which he stated in the same place to have been the model for the role in Ukai. When such roles are compared with the two types of oni which Zeami distinguishes in the 'Nikyoku santai ezu'(78) and the 'Nōsakusho' it becomes clear that, in general, they must have corresponded to those which were suitable for the rikidō style of performance, and being 'devilish in power, form, and spirit.'(79) The other kind of oni was more suited to the saidō style of performance, since it had 'the form of a devil but the spirit of a man'.(80) The group which Zeami distinguished from true oni in the 'Kadensho' included angry spirits (onryō) and oni concerned in the spiritual possession of a person (tsuki-mono); and the 'Nōsakusho'(81) gives as examples of this saidō group the plays Koi no omoni, Sano no Funabashi (the present Funabashi), Shii no Shōshō (an early form of the present Kayoi Komachi), and Taisammoku (now known as Taisambukun). Since Taisambukun is one of the kings of Hell and a son of Emma, it is somewhat surprising to find that his role in the play of that name was not intended by Zeami to be played in the more extreme rikidō style.(82) But his dislike of that style, for which he quoted no typical plays in the 'Nōsakusho'(83) as he did for the other basic roles and styles, no doubt influenced his view of how the role should be played. The shite or nochi-shite

in the other three examples all represnt angry spirits and the plays are now put into the fourth group. Other plays of the same kind would be Aoi no Ue and Fujito. When Zeami spoke of possession plays in which oni were concerned, he meant pieces in which the main character was possessed by a supernatural being for some evil purpose. Such plays are rare enough now, but are represented in the repertoires by Kanawa, a play in which a jealous woman appeals to the god Kibune to help her gain revenge and has her prayers answered by being turned into a devil possessed by the spirit of the god. It, too, is now included in the fourth group of Nō plays. With so many plays representing what Zeami classed as oni now being put into groups other than the fifth, there is no inconsistency between his statement that devil roles belonged essentially to Yamato Sarugaku (84) and the fact that few devil pieces figure in the fifth group in the list despite three of the four actors dealt with there having belonged to that province. The particular association of Yamato Sarugaku with oni is, in any case, reflected to some extent in the pieces connected with its early players even when the term oni is interpreted in its narrower sense, for Tōrō, Tōru no otodo and Utenno contained roles which belonged to the true type of supernatural being.

To sum up, it may be said that, in this middle period, by far the most common type of play was the present-life piece of the fourth group which was comparatively dramatic in content. But, if the present-life setting was the same in most

of the plays of Kan-ami and Kongō Gon-no-kami, the only players at all adequately represented in the list, their content and style was very different. The plays of Kongō exemplified his 'country style' of performance, as Zeami described it. Kan-ami, though master of a number of styles which he used according to the circumstances of his performance, is represented by plays requiring a more restrained and, at the same time, a more developed style of acting. It is thus not possible to speak of one style of acting or one type of play as being typical of a particular period in anything but the broadest of terms. There was no uniform development from one age to the next. Both the plays and the acting would vary according to the player and, where he had a sufficient range, according to the time and place of the performance. The plays given in 1349 were clearly more similar in type and content to those of Kan-ami than to those of Kongō. They are remarkable in this, in view of their date, but they themselves must likewise have been only one of several kinds of Nō play current at the time.

Notes To Chapter VIII.

1. Tanaka, 'Yōkyoku no haikyoku', Nōgaku zensho vol.3,342-4.
2. Translated as App.2.
3. Saigyō died in 1190; the author and date of the work are not known, but it seems to have been completed before the end of the Kamakura period (1192-1336). The relevant passage may be found in the work given as Saigyō hōshi e-kotoba in Zoku gunsho ruijū series 2, vol.32a bk.941, 351-5.
4. Izumi Shikibu is associated with plum blossom in the Nō Tōboku, for example.
5. If, as seems likely, the characters appearing the Sarugaku and Dengaku plays have been given in the order of appearanc
6. They were contemporaries and acquainted with each other, and Murasaki expresses biting criticism of Izumi's poetry in her diary (see Waley's introduction to A Wreath Of Cloud 23).
7. The kana in the text, which does not use nigori signs, is 'Fu-chi' but no Nō play of this name is known. The Kokon yōkyoku kaidai gives two plays named Fuji, both still in the repertoires. If either has any connection with the piece in question, the more likely seems to be 富士 which was referred to by Zeami both as Fuji-san ('Go-on', TZN 200), its present name, and simply as Fuji ('SD', TZN 300). If this is the play, however, the kana spelling should have been fu-shi.

8. Cf. such pieces as Saga no Dai-nembutsu no onna-monogurui (TZN 276) and Ko wa ko nite naki (TZN 275).

9. 'Shūdōsho', TZN 244.

10. See Nonomura, 'Yōkyoku sakusha ni kan-suru gigi', Kinki nōgakki, for a brief account of the problem of the authorship of Nō plays.

11. No case is known of an amateur writing the music for a Nō play, though Nan-ami wrote music for Kusemai.

12. 'SD', TZN 357.

13. ibid. 333.

14. TZN 319. Since this passage follows a list of plays in which Shii no Shōshō is included among the works of Kan-ami, it was doubtless he who rewrote the play. The later version of the same piece, however, was Kayoi Komachi by Zeami (see pp.243-4).

15. See Nonomura, op.cit. 4 , for some names, and NG 1439-40 for a short detailed list.

16. 'SD', TZN 319. The NUM gives the name as Yokō Motohisa, the difference clearly arising from confusion between the characters 光 and 元 .

17. 'SD', TZN 318. Kawase's reading of waga kotoba seems to fit the context better than the waka kotoba 'words from poems' suggested by Nose. For the same reason, fukaki as given in the Kanze text etc. has been preferred to furuki 'old' as given in the Yoshida text.

18. 'Kadensho', TZN 23.

19. 'Go-ongyoku jōjō', TZN 188.

20. Geinō jiten 556.

21. The texts of 13 Tsurane, 24 Dai-furyū and 15 Shō-furyū from a 1544 collection are given in Kokubun tōhō bukkyō sōsho 2nd. series, vol.7. The Nihon kayō shūsei vol.5 contains the texts of the Tsurane only . Translations of one Tsurane and one Furyū are given in Lombard, An Outline History Of Japanese Drama 76-81.

22. 'Kadensho', TZN 45.

23. 'Go-on', TZN 197.

24. TZN 23. The phrase 'corresponding ability' (i.e., ability to write texts, as distinct from the performance of Nō) depend on the Sōsetsu text given by Kawase; that used by Nose would give only '...(has) the ability', which would make the sentence somewhat meaningless.

25. If they could not write their own, they would often have pieces written for them. Zeami, for example, wrote 'devil plays' for the illiterate Juni-gorō ('SD', TZN 333) and states in the 'Nōsakusho', TZN 122, that it is of the utmost importance to bear in mind the style of the actor when writing Nō.

26. See YSK 52-4.

27. The lists mentioned below are given in NG 1326-44.

28. Kobayashi, however, dated it at about 1516; see his 'Jika densho no shiryō-teki kachi', YSK.

29. The fact that Kan-ami wrote certain Kusemai which were used in Nō plays, often of the same name (e.g. Shirahige), does not mean that he wrote the complete Nō.

30. Also referred to in the Writings as Shizuka ga mai and Shizuka no mai.

31. See YSK 1-92; NG 1351-62; and Nogami, Kan-ami Kiyotsugu 61-118, on the plays of Kan-ami.

32. 'Nōsakusho', TZN 122.

33. It is known from the 'Go-on', TZN 212, and the 'SD', TZN 276, that Sumiyoshi no sengū had textual similarities with Kuzu no hakama and that the latter had words and music by Kan-ami. Both Nose, NG 1353, and Nogami, op.cit. 72, regard Kuzu no hakama as another name for the Nō Sumiyoshi no sengū, but it seems clear from the 'Go-on' that it was written as a short sung piece. It is, therefore, not certain that Kan-ami was responsible for the whole text of the Nō although, in this particular case, it is very likely since he is known from the 'SD' to have performed that Nō.

34. TZN 279. The 'Shūgyoku tokka', TZN 363, gives Tōru no otodo as an alternative name for Shiogama, which was the same as the present Tōru (see Chap.IX 307 n.24 below); and Tōru is given as the work of Kan-ami and Zeami by the KTK, and as the work of Kan-ami alone by the NUM. But since it was a play in which the nochi-shite, an angry oni, oppresses the nobleman who gives the piece its name, it seems to have been very different from the present-day Tōru.

35. There is mention of a play called simply Komachi in the 'Ongyoku kowadashi kuden', TZN 77, the 'Nōsakusho', TZN 122, and in two places in the 'SD', TZN 311 and 319. From the quotations given, there is general agreement that the first of these must refer to what is now Sekidera Komachi, and the first of the mentions in the 'SD' to the present Sotoba Komachi. Opinions vary, however, about the identity of the plays referred to in the other places. Kawase, for example, thinks that Sekidera Komachi is meant, as in the 'Ongyoku kowadashi kuden'; but since it may be assumed that the second mention in the 'SD' also refers to Sotoba Komachi, and the plays in the list there are stated to be the same as those in the 'Nōsakusho', it seems clear that the Komachi in that work too must be the later Sotoba Komachi. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that, whereas Kan-ami is known from the 'SD', TZN 319, to have been the author of the (Sotoba) Komachi in the list there, later lists of plays and authors all give Sekidera Komachi as the work of Zeami. The KTK and the NUM give Kan-ami as the author of Sotoba Komachi but others give Zeami. He states in the 'SD', however, that what has been shown to be Kan-ami's Sotoba Komachi 'was formerly a long Nō' (TZN 311), and if it was he who shortened it, this would account for it being attributed to him as well as Kan-ami.

36. There were at least two plays of this name. The remark in the 'Nōsakusho', TZN 123, that 'Jinen koji is to be found

both now and in the past', and the fact that lines quoted in the 'Go-on', TZN 209, are not found in the present version, are taken to mean that someone made a revised version of Kan-ami's original. But, as plays dealing with Jinen koji existed before the time of Kan-ami (Nose mentions one performed in Ennen in 1313 in ZJH vol.1, 662), Zeami may have meant even earlier versions than Kan-ami's.

37. Although the 'Go-on' states that it was written by Kan-ami, the NUM, NSC, KS, and IOS all credit it to Zeami alone, and a ms. by him of the play is still extant. The KTK gives it as the work of both men, an indication that Zeami may have rewritten an early version by his father. The text of the play is given in Yokoi, Nōgaku zenshi vol.1, 77-82.

38. No direct eveidence is known for the general agreement that Kayoi Komachi, by Zeami, was based on Kan-ami's Shii no Shōshō, but a comparison of the contents of the piece shows that this is highly likely. The figure who gave Kan-ami's play its name was Fukakusa no Shōshō and it is his spirit that is the shite in Kayoi Komachi; Shii no Shōshō portrayed an oni in the saidō style ('Nōsakusho', TZN 123) and the evil spirit in Kayoi Komachi even now wears the long black wig appropriate to such a role.

39. This Fushimi by Kan-ami is apparently the same as the present Kinsatsu (see qtn. in 'Go-on', TZN 198), but there is another play called Fushimi (qtd. 'Go-on', TZN 214) which is

a piece by Zeami not now in the Nō repertoires.

40. There appear to have been different plays of this name by Kan-ami, Zeami and Motomasa. Since neither the line qtd. from the piece which had music by Kan-ami ('Go-on', TZN 208) nor that described as being from 'the old song text of Kōya' ('SD', TZN 305) appear in the present text of Kōya monogurui, which is the play by Motomasa, it seems that the earliest version was by Kan-ami. See also Chap. IX 305 n. 14 below.

41. The 'Go-on', TZN 202, states that Shizuka was by Kan-ami, and the 'SD', TZN 319, that it was by Iami. But there were probably two pieces of this name, for the 'Nōsakusho TZN 123, implies that this was so and the KTK gives the names of both men as the authors. The NUM gives Yoshino Shizuka as being by Kan-ami but, since the present-day text does not contain the line quoted in the 'Go-on', it is thought that this must be by Iami.

42. From the 'Go-on', TZN 203 and 205, it seems that Zeami amended the later part of Kan-ami's Matsukaze, or perhaps added a new section altogether.

43. 'Nosakusho', TZN 123.

44. From the fact that qtns. from Kusa-kari given in the 'SD' are appropriate to the story of Yokoyama and are said to appear in the text of that play. So far as is known, the complete text of Yokoyama has not been published and, in giving the kuse section as a Rankyoku, the Yōkyoku tai-

kan states that the full play no longer exists. The information given in the Kokon yōkyoku kaidai, however, was based on a 1737 ms. copy of the whole play.

45. The line qtd. 'Go-on', TZN 206, is found in the present Eguchi

46. For summaries and details of roles etc. see the Kokon yōkyoku kaidai, which deals with more than 800 plays. For similar information on plays in the modern repertoires only, see such works as the Yōkyoku taikan ; Nogami, Nō nihyakuyonjū-ban; or my Guide To Nō. The texts of a number of plays mentioned in this chapter which are not now performed are to be found in the Yōkyoku sōsho .

47. Qtd. NS 97-8.

48. TZN 272.

49. op.cit. 714.

50. 'SD', TZN 270.

51. See NG 589-90.

52. ibid. 1436-8.

53. The name of the present play and its setting at Saigū leave little doubt that Saigū ema was an early piece dealing with the same legend.

54. Probably the play given in the Kokon yōkyoku kaidai under Uma-goi Sasaki and numerous other names, and in the Yōkyoku sōsho vol.2 as Sasaki.

55. Doubtless the play called Kumangiri in the Onryōken nichiroku qtd. NG 1262, which states that it was performed by Kongō players in 1465.

56. 'SD', TZN 319. See p.233-4 above.

57. TZN 205. Some lists attribute Shōkun to Zeami and others to Zenchiku (see NG 1421), but the reference in the 'Go-on' makes it clear that the music at least was by 'Komparu'.

58. 'SD', TZN 319 and 331.

59. Zeami states in the 'Go-on', TZN 197, that the musical style of Ōmi Sarugaku was that of Inuō.

60. 'SD', TZN 274.

61. Or, according to another opinion, Ama. See ZJH vol.2, 316.

62. 'SD', TZN 274-5.

63. KJ 220.

64. Since players were not strictly divided into shite, waki etc. even in the time of Zeami, the roles given in the lists are necessarily based in the main on what is found in present-day performances of the plays, and are intended only as a guide to th e number of separate characters involved in the plays. Tsure etc. who have no independent part in the action of a play have, therefore, been put in brackets, and a Kyōgen player has been mentioned only when he has a function other than that of giving an account of an account of the story to the audience during the interval; that is, when he is in some way directly concerned in the action of the play.

65. In most cases this corresponds to the division into mugen-nō and geki-nō etc. used by Sanari in the Yōkyoku taikan.

66. TZN 16.

67. See Minzoku to rekishi Aug. 1922, vol.8 pt.1, for a number of articles on this subject.

68. Futari Shizuka is unique in showing, at the same time, a woman possessed by the spirit of Shizuka Gozen and the ghost of Shizuka herself.

69. 'SD', TZN 268.

70. 'Kadensho', TZN 16.

71. ibid.

72. See Chap. XI 337-8 on yūgen and its influence within Nō.

73. 'Nikyoku santai ezu', TZN 100.

74. 'SD', TZN 270.

75. Conversely, he would use the term kurui-nō, which would normally be taken in its literal meaning of 'madness play', as another name for oni-nō (see 'SD', TZN 269 and 279).

76. TZN 17.

77. TZN 279.

78. TZN 103-4 and 119-20 respectively.

79. 'Nikyoku santai ezu', TZN 104, and 'Nōsakusho', TZN 120.

80. ibid. 103 and 119 respectively.

81. TZN 123.

82. 'Kadensho', TZN 17-8, and 'Nōsakusho', TZN 120.

83. TZN 122-3.

CHAPTER IX

Sarugaku Nō Plays:

(2) The Plays Of Zeami.

Zeami was a prolific writer of plays and in discussing the types of play with which he concerned himself it is possible as it was not possible with his predecessors, to limit oneself to plays known, or thought, to have been written by him. So outstanding was he in this field that almost nothing is now known of the Nō written by his contemporaries, and Zeami's plays are virtually the only ones remaining from his day in sufficient numbers to make generalizations possible.

In the following list, the plays believed to have been written by Zeami have been given as far as possible in descending order of reliability. They have been set out in the same way as those in the list in the previous chapter, but details have only been given for plays which, on the evidence of the 'Sarugaku dangi'[1] or the 'Go-on', are known for sure to be his work, or exist in the form of manuscript texts in Zeami's own hand[2]. It might be said that the existence of these manuscripts does not in itself prove that the plays in question were written by Zeami, but his position as head of the Kanze group and his own skill as a playwright make it most unlikely that he would have copied out the texts of plays by other people. Similarly, the thirty-five plays in the list of those sent by Zeami to Zenchiku, which has also been used as a source for the lists given below, were obviously Kanze plays, probably by Zeami himself, and this enables the

attribution of some of them to Komparu writers to be disproved. Where alternative names for plays reliably derived from the Writings or the manuscripts have been found used therein, they have been given with a reference to the place in which they occur. As there are many extant plays by Zeami, those derived from sources other than these have been limited to plays found in the present Nō repertoires, and pieces given as his work in the Writings have been omitted if the texts are no longer extant and little is known about them[3]. In addition, plays given under Zeami's name in some lists have been omitted if there is stronger evidence against this.[4] The following list contains, then, the extant plays which can be credited to Zeami either with confidence or, at least, because the weight of evidence indicates that they were his.

FIRST GROUP (God Plays)

'Sarugaku dangi' & 'Go-on':

Hakozaki. Two-act (?) spirit play: waki, shite nochi-shite.

'Sarugaku dangi':

Ai-oi (TAKASAGO). Two-act spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), tsure, shite; nochi-shite.

Akoya no matsu. Two-act spirit play: waki, (waki-zure), shite; nochi-shite.

OIMATSU. Two-act spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), tsure, shite; nochi-shite.

U-no-ha. Two-act spirit play: waki, tsure, shite; nochi-shite.

Yawata.(HŌJŌ-GAWA).[5] Two-act spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), tsure, shite; nochi-shite.

YŌRŌ. Two-act spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), tsure, shite; nochi-shite.

YUMI YAWATA. Two-act spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), tsure, shite; nochi-shite.

'Go-on': FUJI-SAN (Fuji). Two-act spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), tsure, shite; nochi-zure, nochi-shite.

(6)
Fushimi. Two-act spirit play: waki, tsure, shite; nochi-shite.

35 Plays, NSC, NUM, KS, IOS, JD: MI-MOSUSO (Mi-mosuso-gawa).

35 Plays, NSC, KS, IOS: MATSU-NO-O (7).

KTK, NSC, NUM, KS, IOS, JD: NANIWA (Naniwa no ume).

NSC, NUM, KS, IOS, JD: DŌMYŌ-JI, HAKU RAKUTEN, KUREHA, SAOYAMA, UKON.

NSC, NUM, IOS, JD: SHIGA.

NUM, JD: SEI-ŌBO.

NSC, KS, IOS: ?SAKABOKO.

JD: IWAFUNE, ?SHIRAHIGE.

Total: 23 plays.

SECOND GROUP (Warrior-spirit Plays).

'Sarugaku dangi' & 'Go-on': Satsuma-no-kami ('Go-on': TADANORI). Two-act spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), shite; nochi-shite.

'Sarugaku dangi': ATSUMORI. Two-act dramatic spirit play: waki, shite, (3 tsure); nochi-shite.

KIYOTSUNE. One-act dramatic spirit play: tsure waki, shite.

SANEMORI. One-act spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), shite; nochi-shite.

YORIMASA. Two-act spirit play: waki, shite; nochi-shite.

Ms.,35 Plays,NSC, NUM,KS,IOS,JD: TOMOAKIRA. Two-act spirit play: waki, shite; nochi-shite.

35 Plays,NSC,NUM, KS,IOS,JD: TAMURA, TOMONAGA.

NSC,NUM,KS,IOS,JD: EBIRA, KANEHIRA, TSUNEMASA, YASHIMA.

JD: ?TOMOE.

Total: 13 plays.

THIRD GROUP (Woman Plays)

'Sarugaku dangi' & 'Go-on': MATSUKAZE (8) ('S. dangi' etc.: Matsukaze Murasame). Two-scene spirit play: waki, kyōgen, tsure, shite.

'Sarugaku dangi': Higaki no onna (HIGAKI). Two-scene spirit play: waki, shite.

'Go-on': IZUTSU. Two-act spirit play: waki, shite; nochi-shite.

Saigyō no uta (SAIGYŌ-ZAKURA) (9). One-act dramatic spirit play: waki, kyōgen, 3 waki-zure, shite.

SENJU. (10) One-act drama: tsure, waki, shite.

Ms.,35 Plays,NSC, KS,IOS,JD: EGUCHI (11). Two-act spirit play: waki, (waki-zure), kyogen, shite; (2 nochi-zure), nochi-shite.

35 Plays,NSC,NUM, KS,IOS,JD: TŌBOKU (Nokiba no mume).

KTK,NSC,NUM,KS, IOS,JD: SEKIDERA KOMACHI.

NSC,NUM,KS,IOS,JD: HAGOROMO, HOTOKE-NO-HARA, KAKITSUBATA, NOMIYA, SEIGAN-JI, UNEME, YUYA.

NSC,NUM,KS,JD: FUTARI SHIZUKA.

NSC,KS,IOS,JD: GENJI KUYŌ, KAZURAKI (or Fourth Group).

NSC,KS,IOS: YOSHINO SHIZUKA (12).

NUM,JD: OHARA GO-KŌ, YŪGAO (13).

KS,IOS: ŌMU KOMACHI.

JD: GIŌ (Hotoke Giō), SUMIZOME-ZAKURA.

KTK,NUM: ?TEIKA.

NSC,KS: ?SŌSHI-ARAI KOMACHI.

Total: 26 plays.

FOURTH GROUP (Miscellaneous Plays)

'Sarugaku dangi' & 'Go-on': ARI-DŌSHI. One-act drama: waki, (2 waki-zure), shite.

KOI NO OMONI. Two-act drama: tsure, waki, kyōgen, shite; nochi-shite.

Sano no funabashi ('Go-on': FUNABASHI). Two-act spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure) tsure, shite; nochi-shite.

'Sarugaku dangi' & Ms.: KASHIWAZAKI. Two-act drama: waki, shite, ko-kata, waki-zure; nochi-shite.

Kōya (14) (Ms.: Kōya no monogurui, Tadatsu no Saemon). Two-scene drama: shite, tsure, kyōgen, waki.

'Sarugaku dangi': HYAKUMAN. One-act drama: ko-kata, waki, kyōgen, shite.

KINUTA. Two-act spirit drama: waki, tsure, shite; waki, (waki-zure), nochi-shite.

Ōsaka (Ōsaka monogurui, Ōsaka mekura [15]). One-act (?) drama: waki, shite, ko-kata.

Saigyō (Sanekata [16]). Two-act (?) spirit play: waki, shite; nochi-shite.

Taisammoku (TAISAMBUKUN). Two-act dramatic spirit play: waki, shite, kyōgen; nochi-shite, nochi-zure.

TSUCHI-GURUMA. One-act drama: waki, kyōgen, shite, ko-kata.

'Go-on':

AOI NO UE [17]. Two-scene drama: tsure, waki-zure, kyōgen, shite, waki.

HANJO. Two-act drama: kyōgen, shite, waki, (waki-zure); nochi-shite.

HANA-GATAMI. Two-act drama: waki-zure, shite, ko-kata, (2 waki-zure), waki; nochi-zure, nochi-shite.

Hashi-date (Tango monogurui [18]). Two-act drama: waki, ko-kata, shite, kyōgen; nochi-shite

KAYOI KOMACHI. One-act spirit play: waki, tsure, shite.

MINAZUKI-BARAE. One-act drama: waki, kyōgen, shite.

Naniwa (ASHI-KARI [19]). One-act drama: tsure, waki, (waki-zure), kyōgen, shite.

NISHIKI-GI. Two-act spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure) tsure, shite; nochi-shite.

SAKURA-GAWA. Two-act drama: waki-zure, shite; waki-zure, ko-kata, waki, (2 waki-zure), nochi-shite.

SHUN-EI. One-act drama: ko-kata, waki, kyōgen, shite, tsure, waki-zure.

35 Plays, NSC, NUM, KS, IOS, JD: TŌGAN KOJI, TOKUSA (Fuseya).

NSC, NUM, KS, IOS, JD: DAMPŪ, FUJITO, HIBARI-YAMA, KAGEKIYO, MII-DERA, MIWA, RŌ-DAIKO, SHUNKAN, UTŌ.

NSC, NUM, KS, JD: MITSUYAMA, TENKO.

NSC, NUM, KS, IOS: KAGETSU, SEMIMARU (Sakagami), UME-GA-E.

NSC, KS, IOS, JD: OMINAMESHI.

NSC, NUM, IOS, JD: AKOGI.

KTK, NUM, JD: SAGI.

NSC, KS, JD: AYA NO TSUZUMI.

NSC, KS, IOS: ASUKA-GAWA, ?HACHI NO KI, MANJŪ (NAKAMITSU).

35 Plays, JD: Tatsuta-hime[20] (TATSUTA).

NUM, JD: KANAWA, KANTAN.

Ms., 35 Plays, (KTK), NSC, KS, IOS, JD: Yoro-boshi (?YORO-BOSHI[21]).

Ms., 35 Plays, NSC, KS, IOS, JD: ?MORIHISA[22].

35 Plays, NSC, KS, IOS, JD: ?SUMIDA-GAWA.

35 Plays, (KTK), NSC, KS, JD: ?UTA-URA[23].

JD: AISOME-GAWA, ?KOGŌ, TŌEI.

Total: 54 plays.

FIFTH GROUP (Devil & Ghost Plays)

'Sarugaku dangi' & 'Go-on': Shiogama[24] ('Go-on': TŌRU). Two-act spirit play: waki, shite; nochi-shite.

UKAI. Two-act dramatic spirit play: waki, (waki-zure), kyōgen, shite; nochi-shite.

'Go-on': NOMORI. Two-scene spirit play: waki, shite.

NUE. Two-act spirit play: waki, kyōgen, shite; nochi-shite.

SUMA GENJI. Two-act spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), shite; nochi-shite.

TAEMA. Two-act spirit play: waki, (2 waki-zure), tsure, shite; nochi-shite.

Ms., 35 Plays, NSC, NUM, KS, IOS: Unrin-in (25). Two-act spirit play: waki, shite; nochi-zure, nochi-shite.

35 Plays, NSC, KS, IOS, JD: YAMAUBA (26).

NSC, NUM, KS, IOS, JD: AMA, KASUGA RYŪJIN, KURUMA-SŌ, SHARI.

NSC, NUM, KS, IOS: KŌ-U.

NSC, KS, IOS, JD: TAKE NO YUKI.

KTK, NSC, KS, IOS: SHŌKI (27).

NSC, JD, KS: SHŌKUN (28).

NUM, JD: KUZU.

JD: ADACHI-GA-HARA (29), ?KUMASAKA.

Total: 19 plays.

The plays written by Zeami thus cover all five groups. The list, which can by no means include the names of all the pieces he wrote, shows that no fewer than one hundred and twenty-six of its one hundred and thirty-five plays are still in the present Nō repertoires, and that with only twelve of these is there any reason to doubt that Zeami was the main author. This means that just under half of the two hundred and forty plays likely to be performed today are without doubt his work. Some of

them were written especially for other players and, since their particular styles of acting sometimes required plays which were not in keeping with Zeami's own tastes, it cannot be assumed that he performed, or even approved of, each and every one of the plays he wrote. His ability was more than enough to ensure, however, that each was a good play of its kind.

Something has already been said of Zeami's ideas about warrior plays of the second group, but it is this section of the list which is again the most striking. This time, however, it is remarkable for containing all but three of the sixteen plays which comprise this group today. The three plays which do not appear in the list are Michinori by Iami, Shunzei Tadanori by Naitō Tōzaemon or perhaps Zeami, and Ikuta Atsumori by Komparu Zempō. Tomoe, which was included in the list, may have been written by Kanze Kojirō Nobumitsu but, since he, Zempō and, it is thought, Naitō Kawachi-no-kami all lived later than Zeami, they can be ignored in any discussion of the rise of this type of play. Apart from Shinobu no Tarō, which was doubtfully ascribed to Kan-ami, Shigehira is the only other warrior-spirit play which can be shown to have existed in the time of Zeami (30), but its author is unknown. If, as Zeami himself affirmed (31) and is now generally thought, the 'Kadensho' is substantially a record of the teachings of Kan-ami, its account of shura roles shows that plays based on this type of warrior must have existed in his time, even though they were perhaps more violent in character than those written later

by Zeami[32] and not particularly popular. Iami and Zeami cannot, therefore, be credited with having written the first warrior-spirit plays, although theirs are probably the oldest extant pieces. Nothing is known about Iami except that he was the author of one or two plays but, from what can be discovered about their history, he seems to have been an elder contemporary of Zeami, though younger than Kan-ami. This being so, his Michimori is the earliest extant warrior-spirit play that can be ascribed to an author with any certainty. Even this was revised by Zeami, however, and it is his plays which dominate this group and make it overwhelmingly his preserve.

The question then arises of why this should be so. It has been suggested that the answer lies in the unique conditions under which Zeami lived and worked, compared with Kan-ami and his contemporaries[33]. Before the Sarugaku players enjoyed the patronage of the nobility, they were dependent for their livelihood on their popularity with the common people whose experiences in the unsettled conditions of the time had left them, it is said, with no taste for warrior plays. Such plays were demanded of Zeami, however, by his patrons and, although he was still dependent to a large extent on his appeal to the common people, the plays became acceptable to them with the peaceful conditions which grew up under Yoshimitsu. Contemporary conditions no doubt influenced the performances of Sarugaku players in a number of ways, but they can hardly be thought to have had the

effect suggested. The explanation given above ignores the fact that Zeami's predecessors performed many warrior pieces. These were 'present-life' warrior plays and not warrior-spirit plays but, to an audience which has no liking for the portrayal of warriors as such, there is, after all, no essential difference between the two; and, as it has been shown that in the time of Kan-ami people saw, and presumably enjoyed, a large number of the former, dislike of the military was clearly not the cause of the absence of plays in which the ghosts of warriors appear. A more likely explanation, suggested in the preceding chapter, is that it was perhaps only the skill of Zeami as playwright and performer that gained some measure of acceptance for this treatment of warrior roles. And even his success may have been very limited. Warrior-spirit plays do not appear to have been a very popular form at any period: in the time of Kan-ami, the treatment of famous warriors as saidō-style devils in the same way as other beings suffering in the after-life was probably felt to be a waste of the drama and excitement associated with them; and, in view of the comparatively small number of Zeami's warrior-spirit plays and his lonely occupation of this field, his presentation of them as a vehicle for elegance and pathos may have had an equally lukewarm reception.

Great credit has been given to Zeami in connection with the most typical woman plays of the third group.(34) The pieces in this group show a good deal of variety but those known as 'true third-group pieces' (hon-sambamme-mono), having the

representation of a serene beauty as their sole aim, are thpse in which the dance is a calm jo-no-mai, generally without a taiko drum in the accompaniment, and in which there is no dramatic element. These plays, which include Eguchi, Izutsu, Senju and Tōboku, are less colourful than chū-no-mai pieces such as Matsukaze, Sōshi-arai Komachi and Yoshino Shizuka, which are sometimes close to plays of the fourth group in the importance of their dramatic element. True woman plays, representing as they do the highest point in the expression of yūgen, can be expected to have attracted Zeami greatly. The number of them among his works shows that this was indeed so, but it does not seem that he was the first to write such plays. Eguchi and Go are true woman pieces known to have been connected with Kan-ami and Inuō respectively. The plays probably grew up with the rise of yūgen, and although they cannot be said to have started with Zeami, it was undoubtedly he who brought them to their peak as the means of expressing this type of beauty.

In the case of the first four groups of plays, the pieces known to have been written by Zeami amount to more than one half of those found in the respective groups at the present time, but his distaste for the more violent plays of the fifth group is illustrated by a smaller proportion of little more than one third. In the 'Kadensho' (35) he speaks of the difficulty of satisfactorily performing the oni roles which are now typical of this group, saying that 'Fearsomeness is the

main aim, and fearsomeness and entertainment are as different as black and white'. He explains too that the performance of an oni role is itself merely a rock and that on it should grow the flower which comes only from the unexpected performance of the role by an actor thoroughly versed in all other roles and known to the audience for his skill in the portrayal of elegance and grace.(36) Thus, Zeami regarded these plays as suitable only for occasional performance by fully experienced players, and had no doubt about the eventual fate of those who sought to make a name for themselves by relying on the performance of such plays.(37)

It has been found convenient to classify the plays of Zeami into the traditional five groups which, being based on the order in which plays are given in a performance, is the system most used. But he himself did not use exactly this classification. Under the system of jo-ha-kyū it was the general character and tempo of the pieces that determined their order of performance, and since this was one of the standards by which the plays were divided into the five traditional groups, the order in which plays were given by Zeami probably coincided in many cases with their order under the present arrangement. Being an actor as well as a playwright, however, Zeami identified plays more by the main role than by the content of the piece itself. Thus, he might regard a play in which a woman became deranged after the loss of a loved one as primarily a woman piece and not a madness play, which would be its classification today.(38) His

division by the main character, therefore, cuts across the present one in five groups.(39) In one section of the 'Kadensho'(40) he gives notes on a number of different roles in Nō, such as woman, old man, madman, priest, warrior, god, devil etc., but in later works reduced these to the three basic ones of old man, woman and warrior.(41) With these fully mastered, a player could go on to the representation of any other role. The stateliness and dignity of a dance by a god would come from experience in old man roles; elegance and grace from woman roles; and strength and violence from warrior roles.(42)

Plays listed by Zeami to illustrate the role of an old man contain some which would now be put into the fourth or fifth groups.(43) But he himself points out that the plays based on this role may usually be equated with waki-nō, that is, the god plays which are given first in a normal performance,(44) and all the other plays in the list are in fact now put into this group. Zeami stressed that the main essential of a waki-nō was that it should contain shūgen 'congratulatory words', which often took the form of a god vouchsafing good crops and prosperity for the nation, so that the performance would start on a happy note.(45) In addition, it should be a straightforward piece like Yumi Yawata, with no action apart from song and dance.(46) Even now, the music of the pieces in this group is almost entirely in what is called tsuyo-gin, the plainer and more stately style of singing which is well in keeping with the character of the plays.

Zeami himself points out in the 'Nōsakusho' that the class of woman roles includes a wide range of characters, from Court ladies like Aoi no Ue and Yūgao through Shirabyōshi and Kusemai dancers to mad women. With the status and type of the main character varying so widely, the plays varied likewise, so that woman pieces are now by no means confined to the third group. The plays mentioned in the same work (47) to illustrate woman roles are now distributed throughout all the present groups except the second, containing the warrior-spirit plays. And the existence of Tomoe, which was perhaps written by Zeami himself, means that plays with a woman as the main character are now to be found in all the present five groups.

The main element in warrior roles was the representation of strength (48). The plays given by Zeami as typical of these roles, being all shura-mono, now form part of the second of the five groups. Warrior roles were the last of the three classes set out by Zeami, but they led on to the saidō and, by a further extension, to the rikidō styles of performance (49) which have been seen to be typical of devil roles. Although these styles are best represented by devil roles, the saidō style, for example, does not signify a group of plays comparable to the three main classes. Saidō was a style of performance and not limited to any particular role. It is expressed most clearly in devil roles, but is also present to some degree in others as well - in madness pieces, and in yūkyō-mono such as Jinen koji and Kagetsu, which

represent popular entertainers of the time known as Hōka priests.(50) Some idea of the characteristics of the saidō style may be gained from the 'Nōsakusho' where Zeami, turning from warrior roles to the derived 'lively pieces with movements of the body and stamping of the feet', states that the body should be held lightly, without too much force in mind or body, and that the saidō style is the basis of hataraki, the term used in Nō to describe movements which, unlike those of pure dance, are to some degree meaningful in themselves. Zeami gives a drawing and a short account of the rikidō style in the 'Nikyoku santai ezu', but in the 'Nōsakusho', he does not mention any plays to illustrate it, as he does for the other styles, for as he explains earlier in the work, this extreme form 'is not accepted in this school'.(51)

To Zeami, the writing of Nō plays was achieved in three stages which he described as shu, literally 'type', to indicate the subject of a play; saku, its 'making' or construction; and sho, the 'writing' of the text. His ideas on the subject are set out in the 'Nōsakusho'(52) where, describing how a play takes shape, he states, 'Having obtained a subject from an original source after a thorough examination of it, one builds up the three forms of introduction, development and climax into five sections, and then, gathering together the words and adding the music, writes the piece out.'

A writer was, therefore, expected to take his

subject from an earlier literary work, even when the play itself was a new one not based on any earlier version. Should the help of a literary source be dispensed with and an original play written, it should be set in a famous place or connected with some building or monument from the past, Zeami tells us, so that the emotions of the audience will be stirred. In either case, if his advice were followed, the writer would probably have a fund of poems and literary quotations on which to draw. But he considered the play not based on an earlier work so much more difficult to write that he described it as a task for 'one who is thoroughly accomplished, and both able and learned.' The choice of subject, at least for the type of play with which Zeami concerned himself, was limited by the importance he attached to dance and song in Nō. The reason for this importance was that 'if the subject is a character unconnected with the two arts of dance and song, no matter what historical figure or famous general it may be, the entertainment will have no attraction for the audience.' But if the subject chosen is a person such as a priestess, Ariwara no Narihira, Genji, Ono no Komachi, Shizuka Gozen, or a Hōka priest, all of whom are renowned for the accomplishments in question, the interest of the audience will be held by the songs and dances which arise naturally within the play. His warrior-spirit plays, which often lacked the dance component, were without exception taken from literary sources. Indeed, all but Tamura and Tomonaga were based on passages in the Heike monogatari which, he recommended, should be

closely followed in the text[53]. Since Iami's Michimori was also based on this work and Kan-ami cannot be shown to have used it as a source for any of his plays, it may be thought that Iami and Zeami were the first to do so[54]. But there are points which, taken together, make it hard to believe that Kan-ami and other early writers of Nō did not use the Heike monogatari as source material. In the first place, Kan-ami's familiarity with the work is clear from the statement in the 'Sarugaku dangi'[55] that a section in Eguchi, which had music by Kan-ami, was sung in the style used by the reciters of the Heike monogatari. Furthermore, in the section on shura, the 'Kadensho' says that the best characters to choose for these roles are famous figures of the Minamoto or Taira clans. The most obvious source of stories about these people would have been the Heike monogatari and, if it is accepted that the 'Kadensho' reproduces the teachings of Kan-ami, it is hardly possible to doubt that he used that work in some form. Finally, it is probably incorrect to say that Iami and Zeami were the first writers known to have used the Heike monogatari as material for Nō plays. Genjō, for example, was based on this work and was mentioned in the previous chapter in connection with Kongō Gon-no-kami. Its attribution to him was admittedly uncertain, but an even earlier Nō dealing with the same story, the Dengaku play about Renshōbu and the biwa melodies performed at the Kasuga Shrine in 1349, was also probably based on the Heike monogatari. Such specific points, however, only strengthen the conclusion that is

reached from a general view of the situation. The frequent use of literary sources evident from the plays given in 1349 makes it inconceivable that one of the greatest and best-known works of all should have been neglected until after the death of Kan-ami. Literary sources have also been found for most of the other plays of Zeami, but there remain a good number which seem to have been prompted by only a short poem or to have had no basis in literature at all. Both kinds are also to be found in the plays of Kan-ami and his contemporaries, and there is no basic difference to be seen between the two generations. But present-day uncertainties about the sources of some Nō plays are only to be expected. There must be a number of pieces, for example, which were based on works no longer extant. And, conversely, there is no certain proof that a writer took his story from a particular work unless quotations unmistakably from that work are used in the text of the play. In many cases, particularly when the story of a play has been discovered in a little-known work, it is likely that it came to the notice of the writer of the Nō after it had passed into some more popular form, perhaps unwritten.

The system of jo-ha-kyū, or introduction, development and climax, was apparently adopted into Nō from Bugaku, which based its dances on it. In Nō, it is theoretically the basis of the composition of all plays and programmes, and indicates primarily different musical moods (56). The change in tempo from one play to the next follows, on a larger scale, the development

within a single play. The jo, being the first part, is the most simple and straightforward. The ha section introduces variations and is the most rich and colourful, besides being the most sustained. It leads on to the final section, kyū, in which the tempo is quickened to bring the piece, or the programme, to a final climax. If a play consists of five parts in all, as Zeami laid down, the jo and kyū should form one part each and the ha section the other three. The character of the music as a whole would be determined by the type of play but, within the play itself, the musical mood should change from one section to the next, with the three parts of the ha sections being also musically 'three-coloured'. The unity of the piece required the development of the content, in other words the 'story', to match the musical progression, but the standard form by which this could be done was very simple. It consisted of no more than:

Jo section: entry of deuteragonist.
Ha section: (1) entry of protagonist.
(2) exchanges between the two.
(3) account of main 'story'.
Kyū section: climax, usually in the form of a dance.

Such a formula would seem to confine the freedom of the writer to an impossible degree and it is undeniable that, when strictly followed, it allowed only one isolated incident to be treated in a set way. This has led to warrior-spirit plays of the second group, which deal almost exclusively with the last battles of

famous Minamoto and Taira soldiers, being too alike to escape monotony. But Nō is not concerned with intricacies of plot and, for all its simplicity, the plan was capable of a surprising range of variation. In the first place, it was not inviolable. Zeami himself allowed that the standard structure of five parts might be cut to four or extended to six. according to the nature of the source upon which the piece was based. Then, too, the formula could be used with equal ease for either one-act or two-act plays. If a kuse was used in a play, it was normally to be put in the third part of the ha section and, in most two-act plays, the interval comes after this. The kyū section then forms a short second act. But Zeami's recommendation that two-act warrior plays should have the kuse, and hence the third part of the ha section, in the second act (57), is well supported by the plays of the second group (58), and a similar variation is not uncommon in pieces belonging to other groups. Among woman plays by Zeami, for example, those which have the interval after the second part of the ha section include Eguchi, Uneme, Higaki, Tōboku and Giō; and the last two are also irregular in having not five but four parts in all, the ha section consisting of only two. The framework suggested by Zeami was also suitable both for plays depicting a scene from real life and for 'spirit' plays, in which the appearance of the dead person or god in his true form constituted the second act. Further variety was possible by the introduction of minor characters as servants, messengers and the like; by the use of properties representing such things as caves, houses, and

palaces, from which the main actor might emerge or into which he might go before the interval instead of leaving the stage entirely; and, finally, by changes in the degree of dramatic relationship between characters from one play to another. In most of the plays by Zeami belonging to groups other than the fourth this amounts to little or none, but in such plays as Yuya, Aoi no Ue and Hanjo such a relationship is an important element.

Zeami offers no guiding principle by which to decide whether a play should be in one act or two, and it is likely that it was merely a matter of which was the more convenient form to suit the material in hand. Both kinds are mentioned in the Writings and both kinds are found among the plays of Zeami. The plays in two acts are much more numerous, but this is probably because such a form is essential in the normal type of spirit play. It is possible, however, to have a one-act form even with spirit plays, though this kind is now uncommon. Only four of the sixteen warrior spirit plays in the second group, for example, are in this form. Zeami makes it clear in the 'Nōsakusho' (59) that both kinds existed in his time, and it can be seen from his Kiyotsune that the one-act type consisted of the appearance of a warrior in his true form without any previous appearance as an ordinary person; that is, it was in essence the same as the second act of the two-act type of play. Since plays in two acts usually had the advantage of a marked change in character and costume in the second act to hold the attention of the audience, Zeami considered them to be

comparatively simple to write (60). The interest of the onlookers would not normally be quickened in the same way in a one-act play, but Zeami pointed out that, even within the single act, a distinct change of scene could be introduced to stop the play dragging (61). He gives as an example the play Matsukaze, in which there is a definite break about half-way through, after the scene in which the fisher-girls appear and draw water (62).

In the 'Nōsakusho' Zeami goes on to give directions for the construction of various types of play in greater detail, in several cases giving the number of lines to be used in each section. Japanese writers have frequently shown that the standards he laid down are closely followed by the present texts of many plays, usually taking as examples plays of the first group which, forming as they do the jo of a full programme, are the most straightforward and least subject to variation (63). What is of more interest here, however, is the question of whether these teachings on the construction of plays originated with Zeami. There is no mention in the Writings that it was he who instituted the system, and evidence from plays known to have been written before the time of Zeami must be treated with care. The plays given at the Kasuga Shrine in 1349 certainly seem to have followed no fixed pattern but are too shadowy to be of much help; and, in the case of the extant plays connected with known actors, there is always the possibility that they underwent later revision in the course of which they were given a standard form or something

approaching it. But the structure of a play is one of the most difficult things to amend, and many of these plays are, in fact, still irregular in form. Kongō Gon-no-kami's Tori-oi and Genjō, Komparu Gon-no-kami's Ōshōkun and Inuō's Aoi no Ue all seem to have preserved in their present versions an unusual order of appearance for their characters and, in some cases, an unusually large number of different roles. Kan-ami, too, seems to have used a very free form of construction. Plays of his which can still be seen to have had similar irregularities include Shizuka, Sōshi-arai Komachi, Dōjō-ji, Hachi no ki, Jinen koji, and Kōya monogurui. Kobayashi has pointed out this characteristic of the plays of Kan-ami and shown that even Fushimi (the present Kinsatsu), which seems the play of his most likely to have escaped amendment, is very irregular in content (64). If Kan-ami felt free to vary at will such god-pieces of the first group, it must indicate that there was no strict observance of fixed forms within a play in his day. But the beginnings of a regular pattern of presentation may already have been there. Since jo-ha-kyū originally determined the progression of mood within a single dance, it would have been natural for the system, when introduced into Nō, to have been applied in the first place to the unit of a play rather than to a programme as a whole. Kinsatsu has highly unusual features in its music and sung parts, and the latter vary greatly in sequence from what was laid down by Zeami; but, for all that, the main framework of the play agrees with his recommendations as given above. That is to say, the piece consists of the entry of

the waki, followed by the entry of the shite and an exchange between the two, and a second half in which the shite reappears. At most, this can be taken as showing that the framework of what was to become the regular pattern was already used on occasions, but there is another indication of the early appearance of jo-ha-kyū in Nō. In the 'Mondō jōjō' section of the 'Kadensho' which, though not written until 1400, is one of his earliest works, Zeami already speaks of the principle of jo-ha-kyū applying to Sarugaku as to everything else, and explains its application to the composition of a Nō programme as a whole. Even if the 'Kadensho' does not consist solely of the teachings Zeami received from Kan-ami, the younger Kanze is hardly likely to have introduced so casually a principle as fundamental as that of jo-ha-kyū, and the discussion of it in Zeami's first articles on Nō can only be taken to indicate that it was not introduced into Sarugaku by Zeami. This, and what has been said of the structure of the plays of Kan-ami, show that here, as so often elsewhere, Zeami probably carried forward and improved an element which already existed in Nō. This would be more in keeping with what is known of his character than the assumption that the standard form of construction of Nō plays - and, hence, the use of the system of jo-ha-kyū in Nō - began with him. While it is true that he raised Nō to new heights, he did so by blending and refining what was already in it rather than by exercising the kind of boldness and originality which led Kan-ami to introduce Kusemai into Sarugaku. It seems likely, then, that he took a three-part system of introduction, development and climax

which was already known in Nō, and applied it consistently to the individual play in which a regular structural form was perhaps already beginning to emerge. Once the main parts of the form had been established, he only needed to lay down what songs and spoken passages were appropriate to each, with a few variants for different types of plays, to produce the body of teaching on the writing of plays found in the 'Nōsakusho'.

When Zeami moves on from the construction of a play to the writing of the text, he begins by stressing that the words used should be appropriate to the particular type of play and to the characters represented in it. This does not mean, however, that common language should be put into the mouths of characters of lowly status such as servants and fishermen. Zeami warned elsewhere that this would spoil the piece (65) and that even Kyōgen players should not be permitted vulgar speech or actions but should confine themselves to what would be acceptable to the nobility (66). His meaning in the 'Nōsakusho', therefore, was that the form of the language should be made unexceptionable and the content varied to suit each particular case. He recommends that the literary source from which the piece derives should be made clear at some suitable point and, if there exist famous poems or lines connected with the subject of the play, these should be worked in at the end of the third part of the ha section. The climax in the performance of a play as a whole comes at the end, in the kyū section, but from a literary point of view this part

of the ha section is the most important. Being the literary backbone of the piece, it usually contains the kuse, if there is one, and gives a coherent account of the subject-matter of the whole play. Thus, any well-known lines added here would embellish the most important sung part of the play. Zeami also advised that the best lines should be reserved for the shite, an attitude reflecting his concern that the position of the main actor should be unchallenged.

Zeami approached the task of writing a Nō play with its stage performance, often by a particular actor, always in view[67]. If a play was based on a well-known literary source and drew freely on it for quotations, the sense of familiarity that this would bring to the audience would recommend the piece to them immediately. The jo-ha-kyū system in Nō has little significance from a purely literary point of view, but in an actual performance its form is seen to be effective. After setting the scene by the introduction of the leading character and a secondary one who acts merely as a foil, it leads on to the main sung part with the richest text, which it is the task of the author to provide in order to 'open the ears' of the audience[68]. Then, in the kyū section, it brings in the dance or its equivalent, by the performance of which the main character should 'open their eyes'[69]. Plays which were unbalanced by undue emphasis on either music or dance were not difficult to write[70], but what was an achievement was for a writer to produce a play in which

song and dance were so blended that they were as one[71].

Originality has never been considered a transcendent virtue in Japanese literature, and Nō has perhaps drawn on earlier works more than any other form, for there can hardly be a play which has not taken from outside either the incident on which it is based or quotations to enrich its language. In a similar way, Nō plays themselves soon became a rich source of story and song which was freely used by later playwrights, both in Nō itself and in later forms of drama. A writer of Nō could use an existing play in one of two ways. He could either extract from it certain songs which, being in keeping with the subject-matter of the play he himself was writing, could be fitted into the text without difficulty; or he could modify the earlier play by making deletions, additions or other alterations to one or more of the elements of text, music and dance which together form the amalgam of Nō. A new writer might leave the piece largely unchanged, or he might carry the modification to such lengths that the work could in all fairness be described thereafter as his own.

Setting, as he did, a new standard in the richness of the language of Nō plays and in the skill with which he used it, Zeami had no need, so far as this aspect of a play was concerned, to borrow parts of texts written by other people when preparing his own plays. Other considerations, however, may well have led him to do so at times. The absence of reliable early texts makes it impossible to give specific examples of this by

comparing various plays, but since he recommended the use of old poems and phrases that were familiar to the audience, it is likely that he gladly adopted suitable passages which had been set to music by such skilful musicians as his father or Kiami and whose words and music were already popular. It was no doubt something of the kind that caused the rongi from an old version of Tōei to be used in Matsukaze (72) and led Zeami to incorporate into Kashiwazaki the kuse section from his own Tsuchi-guruma (73). More than a dozen plays by other writers can be shown to have been revised by Zeami and there must have been many more now unknown. He advocated such revision of plays and was prepared for later alterations to his own pieces, for he states in the 'Sarugaku dangi' (74) : 'In Nō, as in other things, one should have regard for the times and not consider only how something has been done in the past..... Thus, a little colour may be added to these newly written Nō to suit the times, so long as what is essential in them is not lost.' Reference has already been made to evidence that plays by Kan-ami which Zeami revised include Furu, Hyakuman, Kayoi Komachi, Kōya monogurui, Matsukaze, and Tōru, of which at least Kayoi Komachi and Matsukaze were themselves based on still earlier pieces. In addition, Zeami's Mekura-uchi, which was not included in the list of his plays because so little is known about it, was perhaps based on a play of the same name by his father (75). The clearest statement about the revision of plays by Zeami concerns Ukai and Kashiwazaki which, the 'Sarugaku dangi' (76) states, '...are by Saemon Gorō of Enami. Since both have had their

poorer parts omitted and good parts put in, however, they are more the work of Zeami.' As might be expected, Dengaku plays were adopted and revised in the same way as those originating in Sarugaku. Zeami's Funabashi, for example, was based on a Dengaku No[77]. Thus, many of the plays which now stand deservedly in the name of Zeami were, in the first place, the work of other writers.

One of the main ways in which Zeami amended the plays of earlier writers was by shortening them. He not only cut out verbiage, as in the case of Iami's Michimori, but also removed whole scenes where he considered this advisable, as with his father's Sotoba Komachi[78]. The discarded scene in this play showed an offering being made to a god and the appearance of his messenger in the form of a raven and, as the play also had an earlier sung piece cut out, it must have been a good deal longer originally than it is at present. These earlier plays, it would seem, were often very loosely constructed. Zeami's revisions, by giving them form and balance, must in many cases have turned shapeless material into works of art.

Notes To Chapter IX.

1. In the case of most of the plays, TZN 318-9. Those which depend on references elsewhere are Yumi Yawata, Saigyō and Akoya no matsu, TZN 310; and Kinuta, TZN 278.
2. The seven included in the list are those given by Kawase as photographic reproductions in his Zeami shinseki densho fukusei-shū, and in print in his Zeami jihitsu densho-shū. (one of them, Yoro-boshi, is in fact a copy of a ms. by Zeami.) These two works also contain the list of 35 plays mentioned below.
3. Plays omitted although mentioned in the 'SD' or 'Go-on' are Ashibiki-yama, Shiki-jima, Tobu-hi, Yukiyama, and Mekura-uchi. In addition, Sobu+has been omitted because this was probably not a Nō play but merely a shorter sung piece; see Kobayashi, Zeami 245, and Kokon yōkyoku kaidai 497.
4. In the main, the judgement of Nose, NG 1351-1443, has been followed for plays given only in lists.
5. Opinions differ as to whether the name Yawata, which is also found in the 'Nōsakusho' TZN 122, refers to Yumi Yawata or to the play called in the Writings either Yawata hōjō-e or simply Hōjō (the present Hōjō-gawa). But it cannot refer to Yumi Yawata, since there can be no doubt that this was not written until after 1423, the date of the 'Nōsakusho' (see ZJH vol.2, 461; Kawase's argument on this point in TZN 310 n.10 will not stand examination). It seems likely

that Yumi Yawata, itself by Zeami, was so named to avoid confusion with the earlier Yawata hōjō-e which had sometimes been referred to as just Yawata.

6. Not to be confused with a play of the same name by Kan-ami which appears to have been connected with the present Kinsatsu (see Chap. VIII 268-9 n.39 above).

7. Perhaps a revision of Kan-ami's play.

8. Zeami gives this play as his own work in the 'SD', TZN 318, and indicates by two entries in the 'Go-on', TZN 203 & 205, that he rewrote the music of the second part of the play, keeping the musical version by Kan-ami for the first part.

9. Kobayashi, Zeami 246, suggests that Saigyō no uta was used as the name for a certain passage from Saigyō-zakura when sung as an independent piece.

10. The identification of the present play with the one by Zeami is not altogether certain. There is evidence to suggest that it is a revision of Zeami's play by Zeanchiku.

11. There seems no doubt that this was finally Zeami's play but, since the 'Go-on', TZN 206, and the KTK credit Kan-ami with a play of this name, Zeami's was perhaps a second version.

12. Probably a later version of Kan-ami's Shizuka.

13. The use of this name in some lists to indicate two different plays, the present Hajitomi and Yūgao, makes it uncertain

at times which was meant, but it is likely that at least the play now known as Yūgao was by Zeami. See NG 1401.

14. The play in Zeami's own hand, dated 1424, is entirely different from the Kōya monogurui in the present repertoires which, since it contains the qtn. given in the 'Go-on', TZN 213, under the name of Motomasa, was probably written by him. If so, however, it means that the 'SD' (wr.1430) uses the name Kōya in connection with three different plays but identifies the writer of only one, for it quotes a line found in neither of the extant texts from an 'old' Kōya (TZN 305), which was presumably by Kan-ami (see Chap.VIII 269 n.40 above); quotes two lines which are found in the present-day text (TZN 283 & 285); and gives Kōya in a list of Zeami's plays (TZN 318). Although such confusion is not impossible, it is strange that the Writings show no distinction between the versions by Motomasa and Zeami, no qtns. from the piece by the latter, and no mention of its full names Kōya no monogurui and Tadatsu no Saemon, as given in Zeami's ms. text.

15. It has been suggested that Ōsaka is the present Semimaru, but this is referred to by its old name of Sakagami elsewhere in the 'SD' (TZN 326). Since Mekura Ōsaka (TZN 123 n.13) is not listed in the Kokon yōkyoku kaidai, it is perhaps only a printer's error for Ōsaka mekura.

16. The spirit of Sanekata is the shite and Saigyō the waki in

this piece. Zeami described it as being very similar to Akoya no matsu ('SD', TZN 310).

17. This play was doubtless based on, or was the same as, the one of the same name performed in Ōmi Sarugaku by Inuō

18. The line qtd. in the 'Go-on', TZN 208, under the name Hashi-date is found in the text of Tango monogurui. A play of this name, based on a piece called Fue monogurui ('Nōsaku-sho', TZN 123), is known to have been written by Iami ('SD', TZN 319); and Zeami probably gave the name Hashi-date to his version of this play.

19. The qtn. from Naniwa in the 'Go-on' and the one in the 'SD' beginning Naniwa no ashi both appear in the present text of Ashi-kari. It therefore seems that, although Zeami also wrote the play now known as Naniwa, the play of that name in the Writings is the one now called Ashi-kari. The present Naniwa's old name of Naniwa no ume (or Naniwa no mume) was probably used to distinguish the piece from Naniwa no ashi.

20. The KHK, NSC, NUM, KS and IOS all attribute this play to Zenchiku, but its inclusion in the list of 35 plays shows that it was a Kanze piece sent him by Zeami.

21. From a mention in each part of the 'Go-on', it seems that the version of this play by Motomasa may have been based on a Kusemai by Zeami. The existence of a text written by Zeami (the ms. now extant is a copy of this dated 1711) shows that he too wrote a version of the whole piece. His text

is, in the main, the same as that of the current play, but some differences of text and roles (see Kawase . . , Zeami jihitsu densho-shū intro.58-9) indicate that the play now given is the version by Motomasa. The KTK gives the play as their combined work, but the NUM credits it to Motomasa.

22. The 'Go-on', KTK, and NUM credit this play and Sumida-gawa (given next in list) to Motomasa.

23. Since the 'Go-on', TZN 213, attributes the music of this piece to Motomasa, it may have been the result of work by both him and Zeami, as the KTK has it.

24. A long qtn. from Shiogama in the 'Ongyoku kowadashi kuden', TZN 76, is found in the present text of Tōru. The first line of the same qtn. is given in the 'Go-on', TZN 203, under the name Tōru.

25. The present-day text differsso much from this ms. version that it is doubtful if it can still be regarded as the work of Zeami. See Kawase, Zeami jihitsu densho-shū intro.57-8.

26. Its inclusion in the list of 35 plays and the mention of it as a Nō in the 'SD', TZN 310, leave no doubt that it was by Zeami, nad not by Zenchiku as stated in the KHK & NUM.

27. Other lists and also the NSC, which has two entries under this name, indicate that Zenchiku was the author. But since the 'Go-on', TZN 206, quotes an untitled line found in the present text of Shōki and, by not specifying an author, indicates that it was by Zeami, it seems that he at least wrote one version of the play.

28. Zeami may have revised the play by Komparu Gon-no-kami. The KHK, followed by the NUM, attributes it to Zenchiku, but this was perhaps only because it was known to be originally a Komparu play.

29. From the JD entry it seems likely that this play was written by Zeami and then sent to Ōmi. The NSC gives it as a play of Ōmi Sarugaku.

30. The name, with qtns. showing that it is the same play as that later known as Kasa sotoba, occurs in two places in the 'SD' (TZN 294 & 304); and the Kammon gyoki, qtd. NS 98, mentions a performance of it in 1432.

31. 'Kakyō', TZN 161.

32. In his article 'Zeami to shura-nō', Bungaku 1954, vol.22 no.9, Toida suggests that warrior-spirit plays changed from the representation of 'devil-warrior' roles in the time of Kan-ami to more humanized roles in the time of Zeami. While some such lessening of the violent aspects is very likely, Toida does not seem to have allowed for Zeami's application of the term oni to roles which are not now considered to represent devils.

33. See Kanai, 'Zeami to shura-mono', Kokugo to kokubun 1954 no.9.

34. Kobayashi (Zeami 162), for example, states that Go is the only true woman play known to have existed before the time of Zeami and that even this was not polished enough to be kept in the repertoires.

35. TZN 18.

36. 'Kadensho', TZN 58.

37. 'Nosakusho', TZN 124.

38. For example, Hyakuman (see 'Nōsakusho', TZN 122).

39. In the 'Ongyoku goi' and 'Go-ongyoku jōjō', Zeami has a five-fold division according to the musical mood, but this too does not correspond throughout to the usual groups.

40. TZN 9-19.

41. There are many references in the Writings to these three basic roles (santai) but the most important sections dealing with them are the 'Nikyoku santai ezu' and the 'Nōsakusho'. Kobayashi, Zeami 167, stated that the word santai was to be found in the 'Kadensho' and that this concept was, therefore, already in existence when that work was written; but, in fact, the sentence in question is clearly a later interpolation (see ZJH vol.1, 21). Kanai, op.cit.29, is of the opinion that Zeami derived the idea of the santai from Dengaku; but all the evidence points to earlier mimicry having consisted merely of many separate, different roles (as in the 'Kadensho') and to Zeami later systematizing them and reducing them to three. Thus, when he spoke of Itchū etc. being accomplished in the santai ('Nōsakusho', TZN 124), his meaning was that their skill covered what was, under his system, the full range of mimicry.

42. 'Shikadō', TZN 87.

43. For example, Ari-dōshi, Shiogama (Tōru). The plays illustrating the santai etc. are given in the 'Nōsakusho', TZN 122-3.

44. 'Nōsakusho', TZN 112.

45. 'Kadensho', TZN 22-3.

46. 'SD', TZN 310 and 'Kakyō', TZN 135.

47. TZN 114-5 and 122.

48. 'Nikyoku santai ezu', TZN 102.

49. ibid. 102-4 and 'Nōsakusho', TZN 119-20.

50. ibid. 103 and 117 respectively. Since there is no special mention of Hōka pieces in either the 'Nikyoku santai ezu' or the 'Shikadō', Nose (ZJH vol.1, 635-7) suggests that Zeami put them into a separate section in the 'Nōsakusho', between warrior roles and saidō-style devils, because he came to realise that they did not fit satisfactorily into either of these categories.

51. TZN 120.

52. This and subsequent qtns. and information concerning Zeami's theories on the construction of plays are, unless otherwise stated, taken from the first sections of the 'Nōsakusho', TZN 109-12.

53. ibid. 116.

54. Toida, op.cit., stresses the absence of plays based on the Heike monogatari before the time of Zeami.

55. TZN 297.

56. See Nogami, 'Jo-ha-kyū no riron', Nō - kenkyū to hakken.

57. 'Nōsakusho', TZN 116.

58. Of the twelve two-act plays now in this group, only Tadanori and Ebira have no kuse section in the second act.

59. TZN 116-7.

60. 'SD', TZN 315.

61. ibid.

62. Following the rongi, at the end of the first part of the ha section. Nose (ZJH vol.2, 477), quoting Yamazaki, states that Matsukaze is unique in having the musicians act at this point just as they do at the interval in a two-act play, but adds (ibid. 483) that similar, though less marked breaks are to be found in other plays.

63. Nogami, for example, analysed Takasago in 'Yōkyoku no kōsei', Nōgaku zensho vol.3, and Yumi Yawata in Zeami Motokiyo 110-9.

64. YSK 67-75.

65. 'Kadensho', TZN 46.

66. 'Shūdōsho', TZN 249.

67. It must be admitted that purely literary cleverness, sometimes in the form of plays on Chinese characters, is to be found here and there in pieces by Zeami. But such points must have been missed entirely by all except intimates with access to a written text, and Zeami nowhere recommends or even mentions such a practice in the Writings.

68. 'Nōsakusho', TZN 120.

69. ibid. 120-1.

70. 'Kadensho', TZN 47.

71. ibid. 49.

72. 'SD', TZN 308.

73. ibid. 319; but see Chap. V 145 above on this.

74. TZN 311-2.

75. The 'Go-on', TZN 205, shows that Kan-ami wrote the music to Mekura-uchi, but the 'SD', TZN 318, credits the play to Zeami. Since Zeami would probably have been capable of writing a play during the lifetime of Kan-ami, it is uncertain whether the references are to the same play or to two different ones.

76. TZN 319.

77. ibid.

78. 'SD', TZN 311.

CHAPTER X

Dengaku Nō Plays.

Although records of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries frequently mention performances of Dengaku, they seldom say anything about the plays that were performed. All that can be learned from the Taihei-ki, for example, about the plays given at the subscription performance in 1349 is that one of them was a 'god play' dealing with the deity of the Hie Shrine and his messenger in the form of a monkey.

The record describing the 1349 Kasuga Wakamiya Festival[1], however, says something about the Dengaku plays given in Nara in that year. Shinto priests performed the plays then, but as they had been carefully coached by professional Dengaku players and the performance is described as Dengaku Nō, it may be taken as an example of the kind of entertainment given by the professional players themselves. The account shows that, by the middle of the fourteenth century, Dengaku performances contained plays, referred to as sarugaku or omo-sarugaku, which were not necessarily of a religious nature and which were based on stories found in earlier literature.

The first play given by the Shinto priests told how an Imperial envoy was sent from Japan to China where he was taught three biwa melodies by Renshōbū, a master of that instrument, and

how, during his voyage back, they were seized by the Dragon King who coveted them. This story is found in a number of works, including the Heike monogatari. It is similar to the first part of the account of the biwa Seizan given in that work (2) and, although there are differences between the two, such as the period in which the story is set, the play may well have been based on this. One would expect a play dealing with the sending of an envoy from Japan to China, his stay there, and his experiences on the return journey, to be presented in more than one act, and the way in which the Dengaku piece is described in the text seems to show that this was so. After stating that a retainer was sent by the Emperor Murakami to China, where he met Renshōbu, the document gives the names of the priests who took these three parts. It goes on to say that when Teibin, the envoy, was on his way back, two Dragon Gods and the Dragon King beset him, and then gives the names of the three new actors. Thus, the play was apparently given in two parts, with only the envoy appearing in both. To this extent he could, perhaps, be regarded as the tayū or main actor of the piece, though neither he nor anyone else is so described in the text. Nor is there anyone corresponding to the ai-kyōgen in later Nō to relate the story of the play in an interval between acts. Since all the other roles and the names of the players are carefully listed, it is most unlikely that there was any such player in this performance or even an interval of any duration. It is possible that the player taking the part of Teibin never left the stage, since he represented the same character throughout

and that the two parts of the play arose naturally from the story on which it was based, rather than from any conscious moulding of the material into two acts. In short, the piece is unrelated to the common two-act type of Nō in which the shite makes an exit at the end of the first act and reappears in the second in a changed role. The two parts of the story are, indeed, only tenuously related and in later Nō would have been used as material for two quite separate plays.

The second Dengaku play given at this performance represented a story found in the Gokoku-bon section of the Nio-kyō, a sutra known in Japan since the Nara period, and retold in the Soga monogatari (3). Hanzoku, a prince in ancient India, plans to increase his power by capturing and killing a thousand other princes; but, at the request of his thousandth captive, Prince Fumyō, he allows a day's respite before the executions are carried out. Because of the Buddhist sermons he then hears, he suddenly repents of his evil designs and, after urging his prisoners to be henceforth devout followers of the Buddha, sends them back to their domains. As the document gives no more than a brief mention of the play, followed by the names of the seven players taking part in it, it is not known what form the presentation took. It is interesting to note, however, that there is again no mention of an interval within the piece itself.

Although the evidence of these two plays alone is not enough to warrant generalizations about Dengaku plays as a

whole at this time, there are points common to both these pieces which take on some significance when compared to what is found in later Nō. Both these Dengaku plays were similar in all important respects to those of Sarugaku given at the same time, and much that has already been said about the latter can be taken to apply equally to them. One similarity is the literary flavour of the sources on which the plays were probably based but, in view of the first Dengaku piece being quite unconnected with religion and the second being didactic in the extreme, it would perhaps be as well to add here that a consideration of all four plays together points to the religious element having been only incidental. In other words, it seems to have been the literary and dramatic possibilities that attracted the writers of the plays to the stories in question. Also, there is again an apparent absence of emphasis on one particular role and none of the characters seem to have been in a position at all comparable to the supremacy of the shite in Nō. Teibin, it is true, is involved throughout the first Dengaku play, but his role comes closest to that of the waki in later Nō and, at least in the second half of the play, he must have been completely overshadowed by the Dragon King and his aides. Finally, it can be seen that each play had at least four or five different characters in it, even allowing for the effective identity of some subsidiary roles with a major one, on the lines of some tsure in modern Nō. Teibin, as an Imperial envoy, may be an early example of what was to become a stock role for the waki in Nō, but neither of these plays appears to have resembled later Nō

in its concentration one one main character in one particular incident. The impression given is rather that stories with obvious dramatic possibilities were presented in a straightforward way by as many players as this method required. This resulted in a lack of form and looseness of construction far removed from the concentration and unity so characteristic of traditional Nō.

Four or five years after this performance in Nara, Dengaku players are known to have given a Nō play called Shihiki no oni at Gion in Kyōto[4]. The historical incident connected with the piece is known, and it seems possible from this and the title that the play was a 'spirit Nō' in which four ghosts appeared[5]. If this could be proved, it would be a most interesting example of an early spirit play, but there is no direct evidence about the play itself and nothing more is known about Dengaku Nō plays until Zeami began to write his series of articles nearly half a century later.

The information about these plays which can be gleaned from the Writings consists almost entirely of references to pieces set to music or sung by Kiami. Some of these can be related, with varying degrees of certainty, to Sarugaku Nō plays. Shiokumi, for example, which had music by Kiami[6], was the basis of the Sarugaku Nō called Matsukaze Murasame or, simply, Matsukaze[7], which was written by Zeami[8] and had music by Kan-ami[9]. Ominaeshi, Atsuta, Kaburo Kōya and Taketori-uta were also pieces

for which Kiami wrote the music[10]. Ominaeshi seems to be connected with the play now called Ominameshi, this probably being Zeami's version of the original piece with music by Kiami.[11] From the fact that part of a quotation from Atsuta given in the 'Go-on'[12] is found in the present Gendayū, and that this play is set at the shrine at Atsuta, it seems likely that the one gave rise to the other. Kaburo Kōya may have been rewritten as Karukaya, a Sarugaku play not in the present repertoires[13], but Taketori-uta has been lost without leaving any known trace in later Nō. The same thing has happened to the Dengaku play Shakuhachi[14], but the piece called Sumi-yaki which Zeami, as a boy, saw Kiami perform in Nara, was apparently used by Zeami when he wrote Akoya no matsu[15], for this contains a passage sung by Kimai on that occasion[16]. Sano no funabashi was another Dengaku Nō which was rewritten by Zeami[17], and it remains in the repertoires as Funabashi[18].

The Nō Ishikawa no iratsume, the name of which is included in the list of thirty-five plays apparently handed on to Komparu Zenchiku by Zeami[19], contained a passage beginning 'Urami wa sue mo tōraneba' which Zeami felt he would perhaps like 'sung more smoothly in the Shinza style.'[20] This same line was quoted by him as having been sung be the Dengaku players performing Koi no tachi-ai at the subscription performance in 1349[21], but the connection between the two pieces is not known. On this evidence alone nothing can be said with certainty, but since Zeami

mentions the passage in Ishikawa no iratsume being sung in the style of Shinza Dengaku, the connection was perhaps more fundamental than the chance use of the same song in two different pieces. A Dengaku play called Hatsuwaka was definitely found in the Shinza (22), but little is known about the play and it has not been connected with any now known (23).

Apart from the way in which Zeami describes performances by Dengaku players and discusses their singing of certain passages, the very inclusion of pieces originating with Dengaku in the 'Go-on' list of those recommended for particular attention shows clearly that these pieces were known and played in Sarugaku too. Judging from the later Nō with which some of them seem to have been connected, even the four or five pieces set to music by Kiami and mentioned in the Writings covered a wide range: Atsuta was a stately god play; Shiokumi was a play of the third group, a woman play expressing a delicate beauty; and Ominaeshi represented an unhappy spirit and is now put in the fourth group of plays. Thus, during the lifetime of Kiami, if not before, Dengaku used plays of widely differing character. There is no mention in the Writings of a Dengaku warrior play - except, perhaps, Hatsuwaka - but this does not mean that there were none. The number of Dengaku plays mentioned is comparatively small and, since most of them were probably noteworthy because their music was by Kiami who, Zeami tells us, 'played only musical Nō' (24), the more strong and forceful style needed in warrior plays would have had little

appeal for him and there would have been no reason for Zeami to mention them.

There is no material available to show just how a Dengaku play was constructed at this time. What signs there are point to their construction having been the same as that of Sarugaku plays, albeit sometimes in what Zeami considered the old style[25]. It has been shown above that much of the teaching about the structure of a Nō play which Zeami sets out in his 'Nōsakusho' was probably handed down from Kan-ami and, since even he would hardly have formulated the whole system himself and relations between Sarugaku and Dengaku had been so close since at least his early years, it is likely that the standard form of construction gradually arose through developments in both Sarugaku and Dengaku. There is no sign of a standard form in the plays given by the priests at the Kasuga Shrine in 1349, but the free adoption of Dengaku plays during the time of Kiami and Zeami shows that they must then have been acceptable in general form to Sarugaku players. Even in points of detail they were probably the same as Sarugaku plays, for some of the short quotations from Dengaku pieces given by Zeami are referred to as <u>sashi</u>[26], <u>age-no-jo</u>[27], <u>shidai</u>[28], and <u>issei</u>[29], all of which are still standard song forms in Nō.

The question of whether or not <u>kuse</u> were used in Dengaku plays, however, is rather a special one. The Kusemai style flourished so in Yamato Sarugaku that it became inseparably identified with the groups of that province. But this does not exclude

the possibility of other groups having adopted it to a lesser extent: Kiami has been seen not to have shrunk from singing Kuse-mai, even though his efforts did not meet with the approval of an expert like Zeami; and the style cannot have been beyond the reach of such a versatile performer as Zōami. Furthermore, among the quotations from Dengaku plays mentioned above are some referred to by Zeami as age-no-jo (that is, what is now usually called the kuri (30)) and sashi. Now, although the sashi may also be used elsewhere in a play, these two sung forms regularly introduce a kuse section. There are one or two Nō - Yōrō and Tadanori, for instance - in which the kuri and sashi are not followed by a kuse, but these are such exceptional cases that the presence of kuri and sashi in Dengaku plays would lead one to expect a kuse also. The sashi Zeami quotes from Shiokumi does not appear in the present text of Matsukaze, but the kuri from Atsuta appears in a slightly changed form in a sashi in the present Gendayū and this does, in fact, introduce a kuse passage. This adds weight to the idea that there may have been a kuse in the original Dengaku version also. It therefore seems that, although plays written within the groups of Yamato Sarugaku were probably more likely than others to contain kuse sections, the presence of such a section in a play cannot be taken as evidence that it originated in Yamato Sarugaku.

The point is of some relevance in a consideration of such texts of Dengaku plays as still exist. Due to the decline

Dengaku suffered with the rise of Sarugaku, the texts of its plays have not been preserved in the same way as those of its rival. One of the few places where vestiges of Dengaku are still to be seen is the Kasuga Shrine in Nara on the occasion of the yearly Wakamiya Festival. But no plays are given there now, and although the names of about a dozen are given in records of the shrine up to the first years of the Meiji period (31), this does not necessarily mean that they were in fact performed. Either because of the lack of texts or probably, in the first place, because of inability to perform all the pieces, the main actor would give the first play and then, it is said, plead illness as a reason for discontinuing the performance (32). It is from these descendants of the players of the Honza and Shinza, however, that the only known texts of Dengaku Nō have come. They are the complete texts of two plays, Kikusui and Jisei, and a few lines of a third, Kappo, which were obtained from the players and given in print by Takano (33).

Kikusui, 'Chrysanthemum Water', is based on the legend of the health-giving properties of chrysanthemums which began in China and passed over to Japan, where it was current in some parts until recent times. In the play, an Imperial envoy goes deep into the mountains and there meets a hermit with an elixir of life which he intends to present to the emperor. The envoy learns that, in his boyhood, the hermit was exiled there from Court where he had been a favourite of the emperor, but that, before he left, he was taught some holy words from the Buddhist

scriptures to protect him. These he write on some chrysanthemum leaves and, finding that the dew which fell from them into the nearby stream gave the waters a magic power, kept himself alive for many hundreds of years by drinking them. He then presents the envoy with some of the elixir to take back to the emperor, and withdraws into his retreat.

The other complete play, Jisei or 'The Two Stars', is also a version of a popular legend which spread from China to Japan, where it still survives. It is the story of two stars, Tanabata the Weaving Maid and her lover Hiko-boshi, the Male Star or the Herdsman, who live one on each side of the Milky Way. They are allowed to meet only once a year, on the seventh day of the seventh moon, when a raven stretches its wings across the river of Heaven to make a bridge for them. In the play, an Imperial envoy who comes to the Milky Way is welcomed by the stars on the day of their meeting. After he has been shown all the wonders there, he returns to report to the emperor all that he has learned of the joys of Heaven.

Although very short, the fragment of Kappo which remains is apparently the whole of the second half of the play, the text being almost identical with that section of the present-day Nō of the same name. In this play, a villager living by the bay of Kappo in China pays a fisherman to release a strange-looking fish that he has caught. A child later appears before the man and tells him that he is the spirit of the fish, a wondrous creature

whose tears fall to form rare jewels. Before disappearing, the child tells the man to go down to the bay again. When he does so, in the second half of the play, the creature appears in its true form and gives him a miraculous jewel which will ensure him long life and protect him from all ills.

These three plays which remain are, thus, all auspicious in character and, although not strictly god plays, would have been suitable for performance at the beginning of a programme as shūgen, a play of good omen and rejoicing. Kappo is, in fact, so described in an illustration of a Dengaku performance given in the Kasuga Wakamiya Go-sairei ryakki (34), and although the play corresponding to it in modern Nō is regarded as belonging to the fifth group of plays, and the one corresponding to Kikusui as belonging to the fourth group, both are recognized as suitable for performance as initial pieces in a modified programme (35). It is possible that the suitability of these Dengaku Nō as opening plays accounts in some measure for the survival of the texts. In any event, the fact that the important element in all three is the joyful nature of their subject-matter makes their lack of dramatic content understandable. Kappo is potentially the most dramatic of them but, if one is to judge from the present-day Nō, even here the interest lies not in the events leading up to the reappearance of the sea-creature, but in the reappearance itself and the sense of joy and comfort which comes from his gift to the villager. Considering also that this is the only part of the Dengaku play still extant, it is likely that this part was used on

its own as a 'half Nō', as is said to have been the case with the first parts of Kikusui and Jisei and is usually so with the second parts of such plays as Iwafune and Shakkyō in modern Nō.

Although the printed versions of the three texts given by Takano are furnished with some indication of the division of the text between the various actors and chorus - they presumably follow the manuscript texts in this, though this point is not made clear - they are manifestly incomplete in this respect. Another point which gives rise to some doubt about their reliability on such matters of detail is that, in the early part of Jisei which is stated to have been used alone as a half Nō, the main actor is indicated by the term tayū and, in the second part of the same play, by the term shite. This at least indicates that thetwo parts were taken from what were originally different copies of the play.

All three pieces, however, closely resemble existing Sarugaku texts and, in the translations of the two complete plays given as Appendix 3, a suggested distribution of the texts among the various roles has been based on a comparison with these. Kikusui is, in the main, the same as the Kiku Jidō contained in the Nihyakuban gai-hyakuban collection published in 1686 (36), and in parts the same as the Kikusui Jidō published in the Yōkyoku sōsho (37). It is, however, basically unrelated in text to other plays based on the story of Jidō such as those called Makura Jidō in various collections. Jisei is little different from the text of Tanabata given in the Sambyakuban gai-hyakuban collection of 1688 (38). The

part of Kappo which remains is almost identical to the Sarugaku play of the same name in the 1688 and later collections.

No author is known for either Jisei or Kappo. The Jika densho attributes Kikusui to Kan-ami (39), but since this work is not wholly reliable and other similar lists of plays do not mention the piece at all, this single entry can carry little weight. Faced with the virtual identity of the Dengaku and Sarugaku texts, however, Takano states that the language of Kikusui and Jisei is somewhat the older and concludes from this that the Sarugaku plays were taken over from Dengaku at some later date. But such differences in language as there are between the Dengaku texts and the others hardly warrants a conclusion of this kind, especially as the language of Nō plays is generally so formalised and rich in quotations from earlier literature that it is, in any case, a highly unsuitable means by which to judge their age. Nor is there any reason to suppose that Kikusui and Jisei have a similar history in respect of either age or origin, even though the material at present available is insufficient to decide finally on either of these points.

Kappo was already being played in Sarugaku by 1432, since it is given under its old name of Kappo no tama in an entry in the Kammon gyoki in that year (40). The extant part of the Dengaku play covers the whole of the second act of the present-day Nō, and the construction of the entire piece was presumably the same as that of the Sarugaku play which, it may be noted, has only

two parts in the ha section and no kuse: An examination of the structure of Kikusui and Jisei shows that they follow with remarkable fidelity the precepts laid down by Zeami in the 'Nōsakusho'. Both are in the standard five sections (one in the jo, three in the ha, and one in the kyū), nearly all of which contain the regular sung forms and spoken parts appropriate to them ,as follows:

Kikusui

Act I

Jo section: entry and introduction by waki.

waki: shidai, nanori
waki & chorus: age-uta
waki: tsuki-serifu

Ha section: (1) entry and introduction by tayū

tayū: issei, sashi, sage-uta, age-uta

(2) dialogue between waki and tayū

waki & tayū: mondō
tayū & chorus: age-uta

(3) main story by chorus; exit of tayū

waki: kotoba
chorus: kuri
tayū: sashi
chorus: kuse
waki & tayū: kotoba
tayū & chorus: age-uta

Act II

Kyū section: second entry of tayū (and dance ?)

chorus: uta

Jisei

Jo section: entry and introduction by waki

waki: shidai, nanori
chorus: age-uta (michiyuki)

Ha section: (1) entry and introduction by tayū (and tsure ?)

tayū & chorus: issei, sashi
chorus: age-uta

(2) dialogue between waki & tayū

waki: kotoba
tayū & waki: mondo
chorus: age-uta

(3) main story by tayū and chorus

waki: kotoba
tayū: sashi
chorus: age-uta
tayū & chorus: rongi

Kyū section: meeting of the stars (tayū and tsure)

tayū & chorus: rongi
chorus: uta

Although the texts are shown as assigning to the various roles and the chorus sung parts which are now normally distributed differently,(41) the parts within each section are regular enough to make the pieces as a whole more orthodox in construction, by Zeami's standards, than many Sarugaku plays, particularly in the first three sections, which coincide with the parts used as half Nō.(42) In the third part of the ha section, however, the strictly regular combination of parts which had marked the earlier sections falls away to leave sung parts of

doubtful kin. This is the section in a Nō which usually contains the kuse if there is one, and the main problem in the case of this section in Kikusui and Jisei is to decide whether or not they have what may reasonably be regarded as a kuse. Since the texts do not give names to the sung parts, they give no indication of whether a certain passage was traditionally regarded as a kuse, so that the only way of trying to decide the question is by considering merely the form and content of the section. Even this method, it must be said, is throughout bedevilled by the uncertainty of which parts were sung by the chorus and which by the main actor. The Sarugaku texts give some help on this but sometimes, when the name they give to a particular passage is itself suspect, they only add confusion to uncertainty.

The kuse section in Nō is notoriously variable in form, but there are standards by which a passage may be judged. The more general of these, that a kuse will usually come in the third part of the ha section and contain the main sung part of the play, the essence of the story, are conditions clearly met by the passages in question in both Kikusui and Jisei. Neither play, however, can show the full form of a kuse section in which the kuse itself (consisting of sung parts by the chorus separated by one or more short interpolations from the shite) is introduced by a kuri (from the chorus, sometimes with the first part sung by the shite) and then a sashi (usually begun by the shite and finished by the chorus, often with other parts by shite and chorus interposed), In spite of the fact that the text of Tanabata marks

the corresponding passage as a kuse, it is at this point that Jisei can be dismissed from further consideration because this passage includes what is clearly an age-uta, complete with a line repeated at the beginning and another repeated at the end, in a modified form. Although Kikusui does not have all the elements required in a full kuse section, it is not uncommon to find an incomplete one in which the kuse itself consists of one song by the chorus (there being no age-ha or interpolation by the shite) and the kuri and sashi are either modified or missing altogether. The passage in Kikusui beginning 'Sono koro Jidō wa' is such a kuse without an age-ha, whether judged by its position in the play, its content, language, or the irregularity of its metre, and the corresponding passage is so named in both the 1686 Kiku Jidō and the Kikusui Jidō texts.

Kikusui and Jisei have nothing particularly to recommend them as plays but, since the texts have been handed down in the houses of Dengaku players, they are of some interest as examples of a type of Nō once given in Dengaku. Although Kikusui cannot be dated, the kuse section it contains means, unless the second half of the play was never performed, that Dengaku, as well as Yamato Sarugaku, did in fact use plays of this kind. It may be that not all Dengaku players sung the kuse sections in such plays in the Kusemai style characteristic of Yamato Sarugaku, but Zōami and others like him were probably capable of doing so. There was, in any case, no reason for plays with kuse sections

to be avoided by Dengaku or any other Nō players, since they did not necessarily have to sing them in a thorough-going Kusemai style. The flourishing interchange of plays between Sarugaku and Dengaku evident from the Writings means that plays containing kuse sections were probably performed in Dengaku very soon after they made their appearance in Sarugaku and that, so far as can be discovered now, there was no essential difference at all between the plays given in the two forms of entertainment.

Notes To Chapter X

1. Translated as Appendix 2.
2. Bk.7 'Seizan no sata', Yūhōdō bunko ed. vol.25, 340-1. It is interesting to note that the last part of this story, concerning Renshōbu's appearance before the emperor, is depicted in the Ennen Furyū Renshōbu no biwa-kyoku no koto. (A translation of this appears in Lombard, An Outline History Of Japanese Drama 79-81.)
3. Bk.7 'Hanzoku-ō no koto', Yūhōdō bunko ed. vol.30, 612-3.
4. Rakusho roken, qtd. Takano, Nihon engeki-shi 189-90.
5. See ibid.
6. 'Go-on', TZN 203.
7. 'Nōsakusho', TZN 123. Both names are used in the Writings.
8. 'SD', TZN 318.
9. 'Go-on', TZN 203.
10. ibid. 206-14.
11. It is credited to Zeami by the NSC and to Kiami by the NUM.
12. TZN 214.
13. The two plays have similarities of phrase and setting. The text of Karukaya is given in the Yōkyoku sōsho vol.1.
14. Zeami remarks on a performance of this by Zōami in 'SD', TZN 272.
15. This is not now performed as a Nō but the Rankyoku of the same name is still found in the Kanze school. See the Yōkyoku taikan vol.7 for the text of this.

16. 'SD', TZN 271.

17. ibid. 318-9.

18. This name is to be found used by Zeami (e.g., 'Go-on', TZN 207).

19. See Kawase, Zeami jihitsu densho-shū intro. 46-7; and 147.

20. 'SD', TZN 311.

21. ibid. 286-7.

22. ibid. 329.

23. See Chap.XI 349 on the role of the Kyōgen player in this piece.

24. 'SD', TZN 270.

25. See, for example, his remarks on Sano no funabashi in 'SD', TZN 319.

26. re Shiokumi in 'Go-on', TZN 203.

27. re Atsuta, ibid. 213-4.

28. re Taketori-uta, ibid. 214.

29. re Sumi-yaki in 'SD', TZN 271.

30. In the 'SD' (TZN 314), this section is also called the 'Kuse-mai no jo'.

31. See Takano, Nihon kayō-shi 571.

32. ibid. 572.

33. In his Kabu ongyoku kōsetsu 89-97, Nihon kayō-shi 575-9, and Nihon kayō shūsei vol.5, 223-7 . Some minor but inexplicable differences are to be found among the texts given in these books, but those in the last one seem to be the most reliable. Texts of the three pieces, presumably taken from Takano, are also given by Yokoi, Nōgaku zenshi vol.1,

31-7. The text of Kikusui is also given in Dengaku hōshi yurai no koto, Shiseki shūran vol.16; and a translation of the piece given by Lombard, op.cit. 83-6.

34. Reproduced in Takano, Kabu ongyoku kōsetsu 82-3, Nihon kayō-shi 570, and Nihon kayō shūsei vol.5, 224-5.

35. That is, they are described in Japanese as ryakushiki sho-bamme-mono, signifying that they are suitable for performance in place of true waki-nō in an abbreviated programme.

36. Reprinted in Yōkyoku zenshū vol.2, Kokumin bunko kankōkai ed.

37. Vol.1. The date of the original collection in which this play appeared was 1737 (see the Kokon yōkyoku kaidai 407).

38. Reprinted in Yōkyoku zenshū vol.2. The Tanabata text in the Yōkyoku sōsho vol.2 is also the same.

39. See NG 1340.

40. Qtd. NS 98.

41. See the translations given as Appendix 3 for some indication of what would now be a more usual division of the texts among the actors and chorus.

42. It is strange that the first parts of these plays should have been used as half Nō and not the second, as is always the case with such plays at the present day. The first parts are so lacking in interest by comparison with the ha (3) and kyū sections that a mistake seems possible somewhere. If it was the first parts that were performed and the ha (3) sections of both plays could be shown to have a kuse, one would be tempted to seek some connection betwee

this and the evident unwillingness of the Dengaku players to perform these parts of the plays. As their skill deteriorated, they may, in any case, have wished to avoid the dances which were no doubt required in the last parts of the plays.

CHAPTER XI

Artistic Standards In Nō Performances.

In the course of his Writings, Zeami gradually evolved an impressive system of theory about the aims and standards of his art[1]. Although the purpose here is not to consider Zeami's ideas in themselves but to attempt to show the standards of performance which applied in practice during the early Muromachi period, the fact that the Writings are virtually the only source of information on the subject makes it necessary to begin by considering briefly some of the main terms by which Zeami described his art and the performances of various players.

The title of Zeami's earliest article, the 'Kadensho', means literally 'Writings On The Transmission Of The Flower'. By the term 'Flower' Zeami meant the power of a player to captivate his audience, that is, his artistic effectiveness[2]; and it was because this quality was all-important to Nō actors, as to any others, that Zeami was concerned to pass its secrets on to his successors. The Flower could be revealed only by performance and existed only when the performance produced the desired reaction in the particular audience watching it. The essential element in the appeal of a performance was its freshness: 'Of all the myriad trees and plants, each blooms only in its season; and because of the rarity that comes from each awaiting its time, people find delight in flowers. So, in Sarugaku, it is the feeling of witnessing something rarely to be seen that gives people pleasure. The

Flower, the pleasure, and the rarity are, all three, parts of the same feeling. What flower remains, unfalling ? It is because a flower falls that it is a rare event when the time comes for its blooming. So, in Nō, the Flower should be understood as the absence of uniformity. When a performance, avoiding uniformity, moves on from one style to another, then is it felt to be a rare experience.'(3) Before a player could produce the Flower needed to delight any of the variety of audiences he might have to face, it was necessary for him to have a mastery of all the basic roles and of many different styles of performance. 'Since people's tastes are of many kinds and music, actions and miming are also many and varied, differing from place to place, even a single style ignored will leave one ill-equipped. A player, therefore, who has mastered all the styles, holds within him, as it were, the flowers that bloom throughout the year, from the plum blossom of early spring to the chrysanthemum of autumn. He can then bring out whichever of these flowers best suits the tastes of his audience and the requirements of the time.'(4)

The means by which a player could create the Flower were described by Zeami as the nikyoku santai, 'the two arts and the three forms'. The 'two arts' were those of music and the dance, and the 'three forms' were the basic roles of old man, woman, and warrior, which represented the third element in Nō performances, that of mono-mane or mimicry. Mono-mane had been the fundamental element in Sarugaku ever since the comic mimicry of the Heian

period (794-1191), and its importance was still emphasized by Zeami[5]. The ideal state in mimicry was such an identification with the character being represented that the actor no longer felt that he was giving an imitation[6]. Such an identification of actor and role must have increased the tendency for the mimicry to lead to a type of realism, but Zeami was not advocating a thoroughly realistic and detailed form of imitation. It is clear from his notes on the representation of particular roles that the important thing was to grasp and convey the essential character or spirit of a role[7]. Once this understanding of the true nature of a role was assured, some characters could be represented more faithfully than others. The appearance, speech, and behaviour of nobles, warriors and other members of the upper ranks of society should be observed at every opportunity and representations of such people made as rich and full as possible; but accurate representations of figures like woodcutters and charcoal-burners, who belonged to the lower orders, should be avoided, except perhaps for some characteristic actions which could be made artistically pleasing to a discriminating audience[8].

The aesthetic standard for this, as for all other elements in a performance, was that known as yūgen. This term had been closely associated with the art of poetry, where its exact meaning as a term of literary criticism had undergone changes since its rise in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries and has, moreover, never been easy to determine. Fortunately, by the end of

the fourteenth century, it had passed into common use as a word indicative of little more than elegance and beauty, and it is now assumed that it was from here that Zeami adopted the word and not from the specialized field of poetic theory. He in fact explained that 'The basis of yūgen is nothing but beauty and gentleness', and made it clear that his conception of yūgen was typified by the appearance and bearing of the nobility[9]. Because Zeami held yūgen to be of primary importance in Sarugaku[10] and the elegant beauty it signified was characteristic of the nobility, it is understandable that he should have recommended a faithful imitation when a member of that class was depicted in a play. It was in mimicry that the beauty of yūgen found its clearest expression, but it was also to be derived from the words, music, and dance, all of which played their part in the total effect[11]. In a word, then, Zeami's theory of Nō was that song, dance, and mimicry should be expressed in a style of elegant beauty, and that, if this were done, the Flower could be achieved.

In the 'Kadensho'[12] Zeami talks in general terms of the differences in style between Ōmi and Yamato Sarugaku:

'In this art of ours, styles differ in Yamato and Ōmi provinces.[13] In Ōmi province they make the artistic element the main consideration by establishing the furthest reaches of refined beauty (yūgen) and making mimicry (mono-mane) of secondary importance. In Yamato province, we establish mimicry first and, having exhausted all its forms, go on then to strive after a style

of refined beauty. One who is truly skilled, however, will not be lacking in either of these styles. To perform in only one style or the other is to be someone who is not truly accomplished. So it is that, although the Yamato style is generally recognized to be based on mimicry and plot and to excel in a varied representation of such things as awesomeness and anger, and although the training also concentrates on these things, it is everywhere known that the praise and renown my late father won when he made his name at the height of his career came from a style in which he was particularly accomplished, in roles in the Nō Shizuka ga mai and Saga no Dai-nembutsu no onna-monogurui - and this style was the acme of elegant beauty.'

Zeami claimed that all outstanding players from earlier times, including Itchū, Kan-ami and Inuō, had been masters of this style of elegant beauty, that is, of yūgen (14). Although his object in saying this was to stress the importance of yūgen and he himself had never seen Itchū, there is no reason to doubt the claim provided it is understood to mean that these famous players were capable of performing in this style when it was appropriate, and not that it was necessarily their most characteristic style. Kan-ami has already been shown to have had the ability to delight an audience by a yūgen style but, in view of his gift of being able to give any type of performance appropriate to the occasion and the fact that only in the last decade of his life did he have to cater for a preponderantly cultured audience, he

may be regarded as the embodiment of the Yamato style which made yūgen a secondary consideration. Kan-ami deliberately matched his style to the tastes of his audience and, such was his skill, he carried all before him at whatever level he set his performance (15).

Inuō had no such sweeping range of styles but, being a great player, his performances never fell below the three grades which made up the highest of the three groups into which Zeami classified levels of performance (16). It was clearly he who typified for Zeami the style of Ōmi Sarugaku, and his influence on the younger Kanze was probably considerable. It was from him that Zeami derived his understanding of yūgen, and it was no doubt his example that led Zeami to adopt it as the foundation of his Nō, perhaps with the active encouragement of his father (17). A master player like Inuō could give life to the most delicate performance, but in the hands of lesser men the traditional Ōmi style led only to enervation: 'It is the way in Ōmi not to pay the slightest heed to points at which a pause would bring gasps of appreciation, but to base everything on a full representation of artistic charm (kakari)..... In the case of Inuō, who was of the Upper Flower, this style had an inherent appeal, but now, when it is beyond the reach of Ōmi players, they give it only in its outward form so that both their style and music are flaccid and corrupt.' (18) It being easy to see how this could happen with such a style, the criticism can be accepted, even when allowance is made for the Kanze dislike of Inuō's successors.

Talking of Dengaku in the 'Kadensho'[19], Zeami said: 'The Dengaku style is something quite distict and even on-lookers feel without exception that it does not bear comparison with the styles in Sarugaku. I have heard, however, that in recent times Itchū of the Honza, who has been called the sage of his art, was in no respect lacking in the styles which depict devil-gods or anger, even though these were part of a particularly exhaustive range of mimicry. Hence, my late father never failed to refer to Itchū as the teacher from whom he learned his style.' It is difficult to discover how the Dengaku style was so distinctive, many parts of the description of it in the Writings being far from clear. The most important passages are to be found in the 'Sarugaku dangi'[20] in connection with Itchū, Kiami, and Zōami. Although their interpretation presents a number of problems, their meaning seems to be as follows:

'Zeami never saw Itchū but, to judge from what he was told by others such as Kyōgoku no Dōyo and Ebina no Nan-amida-butsu, his performances seemed rather weak[21]. This was because they were Dengaku Nō. In the Dengaku style the actions are given by themselves and the music likewise. /Performers/ line up and sing whatever it might be; on their reappearance after leaving the stage[22] the sound of the drums beats out and things go steadily on, with somersaults and the like, until /the performers/ swiftly leave the stage.....

'When Zeami was in his twelfth year, he heard that

there was a costume-presentation Nō at the Hōun-in in Nara and went along there. As he wondered what sort of thing he would hear, Kiami appeared as an old man, wearing a hempen wig but unmasked, and sang through the piece 'Mukashi wa keiraku no hanayaka narishi mi naredomo' in a straightforward way without any elaboration..... In the Nō Sumi-yaki he wore a hempen wig taken up and tied on top of the head. Wearing the old man's mask which Zōami now uses..... and with his sleeves tied back with a sash, he carried brushwood on his back and leaned on a stick. Clearing his throat on the bridge, he sang 'Are naru yamabito was..... yama no kozue yori' and passed on to the issei - it was altogether most remarkable.....

'In the Nō Shakuhachi /Zōami/ played a tune on a shakuhachi flute , sang through the piece and then, without any elaboration, swiftly left the stage. It was a very thin performance. Zōami does not play Dengaku and nothing else. He performs anything. The Dengaku style is to be seen when players stand in a line and sing, and when one appears in Sumi-yaki carrying brushwood on his back.'

Nose (23) makes out a case for assuming that, when the above passages mention songs and action being kept separate in Dengaku and songs by players standing in a line being followed by actions that included somersaults and the like, they refer to the miscellaneous entertainments in Dengaku performances and not to the presentation of Dengaku Nō plays. Much of what is known

about such plays and the artistic skill of the famous players in this period would seem to support this view which is, perhaps, the correct one. Yet, on examination, there is no good reason to doubt that is was Dengaku Nō that was being described.

There is, for example, no indication in this description of the Dengaku style of performance that anything other than Nō is being discussed, and there would have been no point, in any case, in recording in the 'Sarugaku dangi' for the sake of Kanze Sarugaku players accounts of items found only in Dengaku. It is known that the Dengaku style was different from those of Sarugaku but that the difference was not so great that skilled players could not have them all at their command (24). It could be, therefore, that Dengaku differed from Sarugaku in having a traditional method of presentation which, instead of blending song, dance and mimicry together into one, gave the singing first with little or no action and followed this with the appropriate miming, accompanied by a dance and other actions, exactly as in the 'Sarugaku dangi' account. The form of performance in the early Muromachi period, whether in Sarugaku or Dengaku, was always very fluid and, after the time of Itchū, this traditional style of Dengaku performance may have existed in Dengaku side by side with other styles and, finally, have given way to a unified form of presentation similar to that found in Sarugaku Nō. Kiami performed only 'musical Nō' (25) and, since his performances were apparently not clearly divisible into song and action parts, it was perhaps the

vulgar realism exemplified by his carrying of brushwood in Sumi-yaki that stood out as his most typical Dengaku trait. Zōami, however, performed all styles and the statement that 'the music is lifted up by his performance, and his performance is lifted up by his music'(26) probably only indicates that he was at his best in a unified type of Nō performance that did not belong traditionally to Dengaku. The mention of somersaults is perhaps the most difficult thing to accept as referring to Dengaku Nō. Although present-day Nō is not entirely without spectacular leaps(27) and complete turns which, according to the 'Sarugaku dangi', should be done with the speed of a released bow-string(28), the more obvious forms of acrobatics and tumbling would certainly now be out of the question. It appears that this was not always so, however, even in the time of Zeami. The description of the great Dengaku subscription performance in 1349 contained in the Taihei-ki tells how a boy who appeared in a Nō play dressed as a monkey jumped up and down from the bridge leading to the stage on to the handrail beside it and, although this is unlikely to have been an accurate eye-witness account, it does show that such a thing was by no means impossible in that period. Even Zeami allowed certain set movements which, although their descriptions are no longer understandable, probably verged on the acrobatic.(29) Still more significant is his remark that beating time with the knees (hiza-byōshi) and turning while kneeling down (hiza-gaeri) were not to be found in his school, and his warning against the use of acrobatics (haya-waza) because they were not seen in his father's

performances (30). Such a warning could only mean that they were likely to be used by Kanze players in some types of Nō and, therefore, that they would not have been unthinkable in certain plays given by Dengaku or other groups. These various movements were only mentioned by Zeami in connection with the saidō devil style and it may well be that the use of somersaults in Dengaku was limited to similar violent roles but that, being an extreme form of the acrobatics frowned on by the more restrained Kanze players, they were scornfully mentioned in the 'Sarugaku dangi' as being typical of the rival form of entertainment.

There are a number of other points, some of them small but none the less significant, which indicate that even famous players gave their performances in an atmosphere far removed from the still, critical tension experienced in a modern Nō theatre. One of the main reasons for this must have been the effect of performances being given so often in the open air. Attendance at a performance of this kind today makes one keenly aware that the open-air setting itself, to say nothing of possible distraction from clouds, trees and wind, makes it impossible for either players or audience to attain the same pitch of concentration as they do in a closed Nō theatre. Because of this, some of the happenings on the Nō stage of five or six hundred years ago, when performances were normally given in the less exacting, more relaxed atmosphere associated with the open air, must have appeared much less strange at the time than they would today. In 1349, for

example, when Itchū was singing with other players before many of the nobility and a vast audience at the subscription performance at Shijō-gawara, he brought the song to an abrupt end by momentarily choking, much to the amusement of those looking on (31). Kiami did not hesitate to clear his throat before he started to sing and, after his voice began to fail, did not sing a whole piece himself but joined in at certain points as it was being sung by the chorus (32). Some Sarugaku performers were no less cavalier in their professional behaviour. There can be no criticism of Jūni-gorō's concentration on devil roles, for it was there that his particular skill lay (33) and Yamato Sarugaku was, after all, traditionally noted for such roles (34); but Komparu Gon-no-kami overcame his lack of ability in the dance by avoiding it altogether in some of the Nō he gave (35). He was also liable to use wigs and costumes that were highly unsuitable for the role he was playing and, on one occasion, when giving a private performance before members of the Akamatsu house, his uninhibited whirls and turns brought protests from his audience (36). Although Kongō Gon-no-kami had more all-round ability than Komparu, he too had little sense of what was fitting to a particular occasion and would do such things as beat time with his knees and turn while kneeling even at private performances in the capital (37). Neither Komparu nor Kongō achieved very great success: their subscription performances in the capital were not attended by the shogun, and a performance of this kind by Komparu was brought to an end after

only two days[38]. Similarly, when Kongō took part in a competi-time performance, he was eliminated after giving only two pieces[39]. Care was taken in the 'Sarugaku dangi' to point out, however, that even such results as these represented no mean achievement in an age of such strong competition. From this it will be realized how crude must have been the performances of the many players who did not succeed in appearing in the capital at all.

The unrestrained style of Komparu, Kongō and those like them was described by Zeami as the 'country style'[40], in contrast to the more polished performances demanded by audiences in Kyōto. Even when artists were skilful enough to acquire this polish, it was easy for them to lose it again without realizing it if they were away from the capital for very long[41]. It was the standard of taste prevailing in the capital which prompted players like Zeami to prune away the vulgar and more directly dramatic elements in the Nō they gave. The resulting trend towards a more restrained, refined, and indirect form of expression progressively lessened the popularity of Nō among the ordinary people but, because of the patronage of the influential nobility and many powerful warrior families, this was no longer the necessity it had been before. Under this patronage, Nō continued to veer away from the dramatic and to develop more and more the representation of beauty through song and dance; without the patronage that made this possible, popular taste would probably have led Nō steadily on to a Kabuki-style form of theatrical

presentation which, in fact, only arose in the early years of the seventeenth century with a resurgence of dramatic activity among the people.

Even though there were marked differences between performances in town and country, almost all of them arose from nothing more fundamental than the method of presentation. The situation regarding Kyōgen players is a good illustration of this. Sometimes the way in which they played their roles was so indecorous that Zeami found it quite impossible to take them to the capital, in spite of the high reputations they may have had in their home province (42). Even those who were less of a risk in this respect were usually illiterate and, like other minor players who could not follow a written text, were liable to improvise lines in a most disturbing way (43). There was probably nothing to choose between the various types of Nō performance in terms of theatrical effectiveness for, in general, the professional sense and experience of the players must have ensured that each was suited to the audience concerned. When the Writings describe the importance of the flute in quietening the audience at the start of a performance and in then bringing it up to a pitch of expectancy for the first entry of the players (44), or when they attempt to explain how to judge the psychological moments in a performance (45), they show that conscious efforts were made to see that the theatrical effects were as telling as possible. But such things as a good sense of timing are the stock-in-trade of any adequate public

performer and, although credit may be due to Zeami for analysing these things when he did, they do not necessarily indicate an artistically high level of performance.

Similarly, although Zeami propounds what is now a basic theory of Nō, namely, that the performances of all minor roles should be subordinated to and in keeping with the style of the shite[46], it was probably a comparatively new theory at the time and by no means universal in practice. There had been no sign of any concentration on one particular role in the plays given at the Kasuga Wakamiya in 1349, and in the 'Sarugaku dangi'[47], written over eighty years later, a Dengaku play is described in which the role of the Kyōgen player was that of a servant who, ordered by his master to see who it is lying nearby mortally wounded after a battle, discovers that it is his master's own son. This son had been disinherited but, hearing of the impending battle, had returned to fight for his father. The part played by the Kyōgen was a dramatic one and, as it was apparently exploited to the full, it must have diverted attention from the shite in a way that would not be allowed in later Nō. The use of masks also probably had a high degree of dramatic effect until recent times: the movement of clouds and shadows when performances were given in the open air and the flicker of lamplight when they took place inside must have given the masks a mobility of expression that is lost under the unrelenting glare of electric lights. Performances in the early Muromachi period, moreover, seem to have

employed a realism that would be unthinkable in modern Nō, even when they were given by players who had won acclaim in Kyōto. Real armour and horses were used, for example, when they were given in the style of those at Tō-no-mine, and when Aoi no Ue was given in Ōmi Sarugaku, the shite appeared inside a property intended as a carriage, to the shaft of which clung a tsure, thereby representing literally a scene that is now only mentioned in a line of the text (48).

There is thus a very real danger of over-estimating the level of the art of Nō in the time of Zeami and, hence, the level from which he himself discussed it. There were many players who did not base their performances on yūgen but specialized in a more full-blooded style, and although, as Zeami claimed (49), they may not have enjoyed the same lasting reputations as their more artistic colleagues, they were certainly more numerous and must equally be allowed their places in the picture of Nō at that period. It was a handful of players like Zeami who devoted themselves to the expression of yūgen, and even they can still be shown to have acted in ways which would appear strangely foreign to Nō today. Since Zeami's eyes were turned always upwards, his general discussions of his art were concerned primarily with ideals and not with current practice. But the more commonplace the background against which he worked, the more remarkable are his achievements seen to be. He gave to Nō an effective form and unity and, by his choice of aims and methods, set it on a course

of theatrical expression which, though not popular enough to have survived unaided, won the continuous patronage of the Ashikaga and Tokugawa shogunates. Such ideals as those set out by Zeami were not capable of full and universal realisation in a single lifetime. It must have been several generations before they were generally accepted by performers of Nō, and much later still before a gradual progress brought them to a peak higher, perhaps, than anything envisaged even by Zeami himself.

Notes To Chapter XI

1. Among the many works on Zeami's artistic theories, see Nose, Kodaigeki bungaku, Nōgaku kenkyū and Nōgaku geidō; Nogami, Nō no yūgen to hana and Zeami to sono geijutsu shisō; Kobayashi, Zeami 101-35; and Konishi, Zeami jūrokubushū 159-90. For accounts in western languages, see McKinnon, 'The Nō and Zeami', Far Eastern Quarterly 1952, vol.11 no.3; and Benl, Seami Motokiyo und der Geist des Nō-Schauspiels 109-227.
2. For a detailed account of this aspect of Zeami's theory, see Fujii, 'Zeami no hana', Bungaku 1942, vol.10 nos.1 & 2.
3. 'Kadensho', TZN 55-6. The idea expressed in this passage is also found in the first part of a poem in the 'Miyakodori' section of the Ise monogatari: 'Because it falls, the cherry is all the more prized - what can long endure in this fleeting world of grief ?'
4. ibid. 56-7.
5. ibid. 9.
6. ibid. 59.
7. Referred to by Zeami as hon-i. See, for example, his remarks on this in connection with madness, warrior and devil roles ('Kadensho', TZN 14, 16 & 18 respectively); Nose's general account of this point in Kodaigeki bungaku 56-8; and Okazaki, 'Nō no hon-i-setsu', Bungaku 1940, vol.8 no.5.
8. 'Kadensho', TZN 10.

9. 'Kakyō', TZN 144.

10. ibid.

11. ibid. 145.

12. TZN 39-40.

13. Kakari. This term is usually explained as being roughly equivalent to fuzei 'elegance', 'artistic taste' etc., but when it is used with mono-mane Kobayashi (Zeami 130-5) sees it as signifying the non-dramatic elements in a performance; that is, song and dance.

14. 'Nōsakusho', TZN 124.

15. 'SD', TZN 276.

16. ibid. 273. The lower two groups were also divided into three grades each, making nine in all. These are explained by Zeami in his 'Kyūi'.

17. It was through a dying wish of Kan-ami's, for example, that Zeami performed for the first time in Yamato Sarugaku the dance of a goddess ('SD', TZN 356-7) which, being Inuō's especial forte ('Kōraika', TZN 255 & 'SD', TZN 274), was said by some to be the basic dance in Ōmi Sarugaku ('Kōraika', TZN 255). Zeami himself recommended that it should be regarded as the model of its kind (ibid.).

18. 'SD', TZN 275-6.

19. TZN 39-40.

20. TZN 270-2.

21. A doubtful rendering, there being as yet no satisfactory

explanation of the key-word, written shi-ya-ku, in this sentence ('shaku?-meitaru shite nari'). Japanese writers have suggested a variety of characters in explanation, ranging from 若 jaku 'young' to 俗 zoku 'vulgar', but some can be eliminated because it is clear from the following sentence in the text that this unknown characteristic of Itchū's arose because he performed Dengaku and, hence, the term was almost certainly pejorative to some extent. Kobayashi (NK 41) suggested 釋 shaku which, from its Buddhist associations, would give the meaning that Itchū's performances 'smacked of the temple', on the grounds that Dengaku was closely associated with Buddhist temples and Sarugaku with Shinto shrines. But this is itself open to question and it cannot, in any case, be allowed that such a connection was strong enough to have influenced the style of performance. Both he and Nose (ZJH vol.2, 300), who makes no positive suggestion, object to 俗 on the grounds that it is irreconcilable with the statement in the 'Nōsakusho' (TZN 124) that Itchū's style was based on yūgen. The passage in the 'Nōsakusho' cannot be taken too literally, however, especially in its reference to Itchū whom Zeami never saw, and there would seem to be no objection to such a meaning as 'he had something of the common touch as a player'. The real objection to accepting 俗 is the difficulty of linking it with the kana spelling shi-ya-ku as is clearly done, for example, by Nogami (Kan-ami Kiyotsugu 120); the

fact that the character is found with the reading shoku or joku in a dictionary of the late Kamakura period (see TZN 146 n.2 & 326 n.18) does not appreciably lessen the difficulty. A reasonable alternative is 弱 jaku 'weak', since the idea of 'weakness' is used in the Writings to describe a certain style of performance (see TZN 30, 49, 87 etc.). Briefly, Zeami's theory as set out in the 'Kadensho' (TZN 49-52) was that if the imitation of a character was exactly right, it would achieve its aim of either being 'strong' (tsuyoki) or of having yūgen, according to its nature; if it was not right, it would in either case result in being merely 'violent' (araki) if it was overplayed, or 'weak' (yowaki) if it was underplayed. If the sentence in question refers to a 'weakness' of this kind, it would be a criticism similar to that describing Zōami's Dengaku as having been 'thin' (see below).

22. This interpretation of the phrase iri-kawarite wa differs from that given by Nose, ZJH vol.2, 301. Probably because he took it that the passage refers to miscellaneous entertainments and not to Dengaku Nō, he explained the phrase as meaning that the singers 'exchanged seats' on the stage with those who danced etc. But the use of iru at the end of the same sentence shows that it must mean 'leave the stage', and if iri-kawarite is taken to refer to an exit and subsequent entrance, as in a two-act Nō play, the

mention of the sound of the drums gains some significance, for these instruments now play an important part in the entrance of the nochi-shite and could have done the same when they accompanied the mimed part of a Dengaku Nō performance (see below on these performances). For other uses of forms of iri-kawaru with the meaning suggested above, see 'Nōsakusho', TZN 116 and 117.

23. ZJH vol.2, 312.

24. 'Kadensho', TZN 41.

25. 'SD', TZN 270-1.

26. ibid. 272.

27. At one point in Kumasaka, for example, the shite jumps into the air and comes crashing down with his legs folded underneath him.

28. TZN 287-8. This movement is still used in Kanehira etc.

29. See 'Nikyoku santai ezu' TZN 107, on movements called 'musoku-gaeri' and 'musoku-mawari' which are explained as 'ashi mo nakute kaeru ashi nari'.

30. ibid.

31. 'SD', TZN 286-7.

32. ibid. 271-2. The word shizuya has been understood in the sense of 'chorus' or 'place where the chorus sit', following Kawase (TZN 271 n.14); but Nose (ZJH vol.2, 304-5 & 307) takes it to mean 'quietly'. In either case, the point about Kiami's singing is unaffected.

33. 'SD', TZN 333.

34. 'Kadensho', TZN 17. Nose (ZJH vol.1, 64) concluded from this that oni-nō must have arisen in Yamato Sarugaku.

35. The 'SD', TZN 331, tells of his doing this with what was apparently the play Kashiwazaki. He either omitted the dance entirely or, as Kawase understands the passage in question (TZN 332 n.13), made his exit by leaving his tsure to perform the dance.

36. ibid. 331.

37. ibid. 332.

38. ibid. 330-1.

39. ibid. 331.

40. ibid. 330.

41. 'Kakyō', TZN 147.

42. 'SD', TZN 332. In the 'Shūdōsho', TZN 249, Zeami deplores the use by Kyōgen players of any words or actions that would be unacceptable to the nobility.

43. 'SD', TZN 324.

44. 'Shūdōsho', TZN 245-6.

45. 'Kadensho', TZN 20-2.

46. 'Shūdōsho', TZN 244. See Nogami, 'Nō no shuyaku ichinin shugi', Nō - kenkyū to hakken, on this practice.

47. TZN 329.

48. 'SD', TZN 274. See also ZJH vol.2, 315.

49. 'Nōsakusho', TZN 124, qtd. 'SD', TZN 268.

APPENDED TRANSLATIONS.

APPENDIX 1

The Kusemai Hyakuman
And The Rankyoku Tōgoku-kudari.

The Rankyoku Tōgoku-kudari has been known since the time of Zeami as a Kusemai but, as explained in Chapter V, there is good reason to think that it was so described only because of its musical setting. It is translated here to show how different it is in form the typical Kusemai represented by Hyakuman, which is now to be found as the kuse section in the Nō play of that name.

Hyakuman was originally an independent Kusemai but, in the Nō play, it represents one of the songs and dances performed at a temple by a woman who is demented with grief at the disappearance of her young son. As she finishes giving the piece, a man who has found the boy and brought him to the temple to pray, reunites her with her son. So far as is known, independent Kusemai were sung throughout by the same performer, but in the following translation of Hyakuman the division of the text between shite and chorus in the present-day Nō has been shown by giving the singer or singers of each part in brackets.

Tōgoku-kudari, which was written by Rin-ami after he was forced to leave the capital by the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, ostensibly describes the feelings of Taira Morihisa while

he was making the same journey to the eastern provinces after being taken prisoner during the wars between the Taira and Minamoto clans. It consists in large part of a succession of place-names which are used punningly as a means of introducing sentiments befitting the occasion. This use of place-names was so common in poetic writings from the Kamakura period onwards that certain turns of phrase came to be used almost inevitably in connection with particular places, especially those on much used routes. This device, by which the stages of a journey could be fused with descriptions of appropriate scenes and feelings, could be effective but, as in the present text, it was frequently only achieved at the price of some illogicality and internal contradiction.

The texts used for the translations are those of the Kanze school as given in the Yōkyoku taikan. When kake-kotoba have been worked into the translation, the 'pivot-word' has been given in the notes in block capitals, thus: yado o mo KASHIwabara.

Hyakuman

(Chorus) shidai My fluttering sleeves tell of my hope
That I shall meet my child.
My fluttering sleeves tell of my hope
That parent and child shall meet (1).
Watch, then, the dance of Hyakuman.

(Shite) My sleeves dance a hundred times

And then ten thousand[2],

(Chorus) As I pray to know

Where my child has gone.

(Shite) kuri Well, indeed, do I realise

That wherever one lives, there is home.

(Chorus) And when one has nowhere to live,

There is nowhere to call home.

But what time is there left

In this world of ours ?

(Shite) sashi 'Cattle and sheep return by precipitous paths,

And birds gather deep in their leafy shelter.'[3]

(Chorus) Life is truly but a ripple[4] on a pool.

With nothing to cling to[5],

I drift like cloud or water -

What will become of me ?[6]

In my village, where the dew

Would settle[7] on the leafy branches of the oaks,

(Shite) Sad months and years have I passed.

(Chorus) The vows between man and wife

That were to carry us

Through this world and the next,

Led to parting[8] even before we were joined,

An unending separation, an empty dream,

That has vanished without trace.

(Shite) Our pillows were set[9] side by side,

But just as the pounding waves
(Chorus) Foam for a moment (10) and are gone,
So did the sad bond between us disappear.
(Chorus) kuse Heartless he must have been (11)
To die and leave me to my tears
Which never cease to flood my sleeves.
Deeper and deeper in my grief I sank
As the years flowed on (12)
And the moon waxed and waned,
Until, by the light of this same moon,
Among the green shadows of the willows (13)
In the Great Temple of the West,
My child was lost to me (14),
Disappearing I know not where,
Like the silvery dew.
In an agony of unhappiness,
I left the Imperial city of Nara
And, having looked back at Mikasa-yama (15),
Crossed the Sao river.
Going on into Yamashiro, I arrived
At the village of Ide (16), only to find
That the waters of the Tamamizu there
Were beautiful only in name -
For what a pitiful sight I saw
Reflected there.
So time passed and I wandered on,

Now as slowly as a sheep
On its way to the slaughter,
Now as eagerly as a galloping pony[17],
Until I arrived at the temple
At Sagano to the west of the capital.
Looking at the view around me, I see
(Shite) ageha Kameyama with the cherry gaily blooming[18]
(Chorus) And the river Ōi flowing through
The clouds of blossom -
But the way of the world is everywhere the same[19],
For here at Saga the flowers of the mountain cherry,
When they have passed their prime,
Await the mountain winds from Arashi-yama[20].
As the evening mists rise over Matsu-no-o
And the village of Ogura,
People of all ranks, wearing fine clothes
And flowers in their hair[21],
Throng to the temple and make me feel
The majesty of its teaching.
This temple, more than any other,
Has my grateful devotion for,
Though one so unworthy
Trembles to speak of such things,
The holy figure made in scented cedar-wood
By Bishakatsuma[22] to light a way

For those who, like myself, were wandering lost,
Awaiting the arrival of the second Buddha,
This figure forthwith showed its mystic power
By crossing India and China, too,
To this land of ours,
And revealing itself, to my eternal gratitude,
In this temple here.

(Shite) ageha — The ninety days of summer devotions
(Chorus) — Done in gratitude to Maya-bunin (23)
Show how even the Buddha
Felt deep love for his mother.
How is it, then, that we
Who are so full of human emotions
Do not love our mothers even more ?
Thus do I reproach my child
And mourn my fate,
But when I pray it is with a full heart.

(Chorus) shidai — My fluttering sleeves tell of my hope
That parent and child shall meet (24) .
Watch, then, the dance of Hyakuman.

Tōgoku-kudari

'The Journey Down To The Eastern Provinces'

kuri — This Morihisa (25) , now, was a samurai

Of the Taira clan, a fearless warrior
Whose military skill had carried his name
Even to the lord at Kamakura (26).

sashi

Unable to deal with such a prisoner
There and then, his captors
Send him to the east.
As he leaves behind
The splendours of the capital
And crosses the Kamogawa (27) and Shiragawa (28),
The cries of the wild duck
Mingle with the sound of his weeping
As he wonders what the end will be.
He next reaches Awadaguchi,
But there is none to await him (29) there.
On he journeys then to Matsuzaka,
Shi-no-miyagahara and Yotsu-no-tsuji.

kuse

Rain-showers on the mountain road
Beyond the barrier (30)
Can only wet still more
Sleeves already soaked with tears.
People who know him
And others who know him not (31)
Meet (32) Morihisa on the Osaka road
Where even the sound of the stormy wind
Strikes chill.

Coming out (33) at the post-town
Of Matsumoto, they journey on
To Uchide-no-hama.
From there they see the moonlight,
Spread across the lake so that
The waves appear to tumble
On a bed of ice.
So it was perhaps, he thinks,
When Han Rei (34) poled his small boat
Over the waves of the five lakes
After giving up the state of Etsu.
Then on they went to Nagara (35) which,
Though a mountain village,
Still bears the name it had
When it was an emperor's capital (36),
Albeit in days gone by.
He worships at the Ishiyama temple
And to the deity enshrined there (37)
Will he consign his hopes -
For did not she, in her great compassion,
Make the vow supreme
To rescue all mankind ?
At Seta the long bridge
Is reflected in the water
Like a rainbow stretched across the waves.
Weary (38) of this wretched life

And sodden by the morning dew
That settles (39) on the autumn grasses,
Through Noji and Shinowara he goes.
Morihisa journeys on,
Rising each morning and leaving
First one place and then the next -
As night follows night
How many more will he spend thus ?
ageha On Moriyama where dew
And showery rain seep through (40),
Even the lowest leaves of the maples
Are stained a colour
To make the evening sun look pale.
'What man will there be who,
Reflecting on things past and present (41),
Will not recall my sad state (42)
Here on Mount Kagami ?'
No cause is there for Morihisa
To be of good heart,
Though the town of Musa
Through which he passes
Is bravely named (43).
His journey is but started (44)
And from the post-town of Ono
Where scanty reed-grass grows,
He gazes out at the pass of Suri-hari

With needle-rocks enough
To edge the Ono axes (45),
And at Bamba, famous places both.
At the end of the day Morihisa drinks
From the well at Samegai,
But when he rests so far from home,
Pillowing his head on grass
He gathers there,
A stormy wind from Matsuyama
Snatches even his dreams away (46).
At Kashiwabara (47) who is there
To afford him lodging ?
When he crosses the hills at Yamanaka (48)
Where even the moonlight scarce can penetrate,
Or waits beneath the eaves of the
Of the guard-house at the Fuwa barrier,
What longing he feels for the capital,
Though his journey is but started.
Beyond the post-town of Tarui
He reaches Aono-ga-hara,
But finds the greenness there
Is only in the name (49),
For everything is white with evening frost
And every blade of grass lies withered.
In this unhappy state (50)
He goes through Aohaka

And, regretting (51) the feelings
He cannot forsake,
Comes to the Kuisegawa.
Then he passes Su-no-mata
And Ashika, and going on beyond
Oritsu and Kayatsu,
Comes to the shrine of Atsuta.

ageha

Hōrai-kyū (52), they call it,
But this is nothing but a name,
For what elixir
From the wonderland of Hōrai
Is there here for the prisoner
Facing punishment by death ?
At Narumigata where the wind
Moans (53) through the reeds,
A small abandoned boat
Is taken by the outgoing tide
And, with none aboard,
Will surely drift far out to sea.

sashi

At Yatsuhashi where the bridges
Reach out like the legs of a spider
And the iris splash the side
Of the marsh with colour,
The feelings of the General Ariwara (54)
When he composed the poem
'Oh ! how far have I travelled'

Strike home to Morihisa

In his sad plight.

kuse (55) Not knowing where

His journey is to end,

He comes to the post-town

Of Yahagi and, later, Akasaka.

(56)
Arriving at Miyaji-yama ,

He sees wistaria-blossom

Hanging in the branches of a pine

From the stems of a creeper

Clinging to the tree.

Then on through Watauto

(57)
And over the bridge at Imabashi.

He moves on further still

(58)
To the heights of Mount Futamura

Where cloud and smoke hang low,

(59)
And then arrives at Takashi

Which, though its name means 'high',

Is, in fact, low-lying

And has a road which surely leads

To villages on the moors.

ageha (60) From Shiomizaka can be seen the waves

That come and go with each successive tide;

Blue sea and sky merge into one

So that a rowing-boat offshore

Seems to ride amid the clouds,

As the sun by day and the moon by night
Appeared to float upon the lake
Which lay between Go to the east
And the land of So to the south (61).
Whether he will make the journey back again
Is more than he can tell (62),
And during the short stop at Shirasuga
His heart was anxious and as disturbed
As a sea-bird riding on the waves (63).
The evening tide at Hashimoto (64)
Creeps ever higher
As it laps against the bridge.
He sees the aged boughs
Of a pine (65) at Hamamatsu
And wonders how many seasons
Have followed one another
Beneath that tree.
In front lies Maezawa
And behind it rise the hills.
Night fades (66) and the light of dawn
Shows clouds stretched over (67)
The distant hills at Hikima,
Where a view of the Tenryū river
Can be seen. Thus utterly brought low,
Through the post-town of Ikeda
He passes, and then through Sagisaka.

No longer heeding even the strangeness
Of the places where he rests,
He finds dreams come to him (68) after he reaches
The official town of Mitsuke.
Waves rush o'er the beach (69) at Kakegawa;
And at Sayo-no-nakayama
He wonders whether, in his life,
He will ever see this place again (70).
The 'Listening River', the Kikugawa, (71)
Is deaf to all
But the sound of his grief as he passes.
They reach Komaba-ga-hara (72)
To find the ponies spent
With the toils of the long journey.
The Ōigawa (73), like life itself,
Oft changes from shallows to rapids -
If only the pine on the river-bank there
Could tell him what he would know !
When, at Fujieda (74), he sees the purple blossom
Hanging from the wistaria boughs,
There comes to him the wistful thought
That spring will return year after year
To touch the flowers with colour.....
He and those who travel with him
Have grown to be on friendly terms,

ageha

So that, by the time of their arrival
At the town of Okaba (75),
His companions feel ill at ease with him.
Making their way through overhanging vines
Along a narrow lane,
They come to Utsunoyama (76)
And there, wrapped in his well-worn cloak
Which his wife oft beat
On her fulling-board,
He feels that perhaps reality itself
Is nothing but a dream.
While he watches the fishermen
Haul in their nets beside the anchorage
On the Tegoshi river,
Thoughts settle on him
With the pale shadows of evening
And the pale light of dawn.
On they go, through the chief town
Of Suruga (77) and then Kiyomi-ga-seki
Where the barriers afford no respite
From the journey which brings such grief.
Looking across from Satta-yama,
He sees Mio-ga-saki
Standing out in the distance.
Which the line of the coast
And which white-crested waves

(78)
He cannot tell ,
And as he gazes out beyond Matsubara
A small fishing-boat appears to drift
Into the very tree-tops.
Overcome by the beauty of the scene,
Morihisa weeps, and his sleeves
Grow wet with tears.
Once Yui and Kambara are left behind,
The sweep of the bay at Tago-no-ura
Is close at hand.

ageha

Unrivalled in India, China or Japan,
Fuji stands with lofty peak
Supporting the clouds of the heavens.
When they have passed
Ukishima-ga-hara,
To the left of them
The waves of the lake come lapping in,
And water-fowl resting
In the shallow waters among the reeds
Sleek from their feathers
The clinging frost.
To the right, on the wide blue stretch of sea,
A lone sail from a fishing village
Is faintly to be seen.
Here it is, perhaps, that the carriages turn back,
Carriages like those drawn by sheep,

Deer and oxen
Which stand ready to carry mankind
From the burning house where still he dwells. (79)

ageha When they arrive at Mishima,
The main town of Izu,
He offers up fervent prayers to the god there.
'In the very beginning,
At a time now past the ken of man, (80)
The Buddha from whom you come
Brought light into the world.
Light for me now, I beg,
A way through the trackless void
Between this world and the next.'
At such a heartfelt prayer (81)
Even an old and withered branch, in driving snow,
Would surely bloom once more.

Notes To Appendix 1.

1. This *shidai* is slightly irregular in that the first couplet of 7 and 5 syllables is not repeated exactly.
2. There is here a play on the characters of the name Hyakuman.
3. The original lines are a Japanese reading of two lines from a Chinese poem by Tu Fu.
4. *Yo no naka wa* ADA-*nami no*.
5. *Nami no* YORU*be wa izuku*.
6. *Ika ni* NARA *No ha*.
7. *Tsuyu no* FURU*sato ni*.
8. *Chigiri no sue wa* HANA*kazura*.
9. *Makura* SHIKI-*nami no*.
10. *Nami no* AWA*re*.
11. The original quotes a poem from the *Manyōshū* (*Kokka taikan* no.3836) of which the only truly meaningful part is the last two lines, the rest being merely a long introduction.
12. *Toshi*-NAMI *no nagaruru*.
13. *Yanagi-kage* MIDORI*go*.
14. *Yukusue* SHIRA-*tsuyu*.
15. *Kaeri*-MI*kasa-yama*.
16. *Yamashiro ni* IDE *no sato*.
17. The simile of a sheep going to the slaughter is found in such sutra as the *Maya-kyō* and *Nehan-gyō*. The picture of a galloping pony, frequently used to illustrate the swift passing of time, is found in Chinese sources which include the *Shih chi* and the writings of Chuang Tzu.

18. Hana no UKI-ki no Kameyama.

19. Ukiyo no SAGA.

20. ARASHI no kaze MATSU-no-o.

21. Kazashi zo ōki HANAgoromo KIsen kunju.

22. Sans.: Visrakarman. The Buddhist patron of artisans, he is said to have taken human form to carve the image in question.

23. Buddha's mother (Sans.: Māyā). It is said that the Buddha preached for ninety days in summer as a token of his piety towards her.

24. As is usual with the second shidai of a kuse, the couplet of 7 and 5 syllables is not repeated.

25. This Rankyoku deals only with his journey to Kamakura after his capture by the Minamoto. According to the Nō Morihisa, for example, when he was about to be executed at Yui-ga-hama at Kamakura, he was saved by the divine intervention of Kannon.

26. The shogun Minamoto Yoritomo.

27. Ne ni naki-someshi KAMOgawa.

28. Sue SHIRAgawa.

29. Tare o ka MATSUzaka ya.

30. That at Ōsaka in Ōmi province, it figures frequently in travel poetry.

31. Lines based on a poem in the Gosenshū (Kokka taikan no. 1050).

32. Ō(AU)saka.

33. Shuku ni UCHIDE-no-hama.

34. Fan Li, a minister of Yueh in the 5th. century B.C. who gave

up office and returned to his home at the peak of his career.

35. Mukashi-NAGARA no yamazato.

36. It was the capital of the emperor Tenchi, who reigned from 662 to 671.

37. Nyoirin Kannon.

38. Ukiyo no naka o AKI-kusa.

39. Asa-tsuyu OKI-wakare-yuku.

40. Shigure mo MORU-yama. The place-name is Moriyama, but the attributive verbal form moru is used to link the preceding phrase grammatically with the noun yama. The lines are based on a poem by Ki no Tsurayuki in the Kokinshū (Kokka taikan no.260).

41. Ima o KAGAMI-yama.

42. Yama-KATACHI o tare ka wasurebeki.

43. The first of the characters with which the name Musa is written means 'military virtue', 'valour'.

44. Kayoi-ji mo ASA-ji.

45. The text repeats the word ono here, using it once as a place-name and again to mean 'axe'.

46. The text is full of kake-kotoba at this point: yume mo SAME-ga-I no MIZUkara MUSUBU kusa-makura.

47. Yado o mo KASHIwabara.

48. Tsuki mo mare naru YAMAnaka.

49. The first part of the name means 'green'.

50. Ukiyo ni Aohaka.

51. Kokoro o KUIse-gawa.

52. Popular name for the Atsuta Jingū, the shrine which housed the sword said to have been taken from the dragon's tail by Susano-o.

53. Kaze no NARUmigata.

54. Ariwara no Narihira, the 9th. century noble and poet around whose poems were written the stories of the Ise monogatari.

55. Yukusue wa SHIRA-mayumi.

56. Hana o MIyaji-yama.

57. ImaBASHI uchi-wataru.

58. Kumo to kemuri no FUTAMURA.

59. Futamura-yama wa TAKASHI.

60. Michi-hi no SHIOMIzaka.

61. These lines are based on two in a poem by Tu Fu.

62. Kaeran koto o SHIRAsuga.

63. Shibashi ORI-IRU mizutori.

64. Yūshio noboru HASHImoto.

65. HamaMATSU ga e.

66. Yo wa AKEgata.

67. Yokogumo no HIKIma.

68. Yume mo MITSUKE.

69. Nami o KAKEgawa.

70. A reference to a poem by Saigyō in the Shinkokinshū (Kokka taikan no.987): Toshi takete Mata Koyubeshi to Omoiki ya Inochi narikeri Sayo-no-nakayama, 'Never did I think that, thus grown old, I should come this way again, here to

Sayo-no-nakayama - but such has been my life.'

71. Ukikoto o nomi KIKUgawa.

72. Tabi no tsukare no KOMAba-ga-hara.

73. Fuchise no ŌIgawa.

74. Hana-murasaki no FUJIEDA.

75. Kokoro OKAbe no shuku.

76. Ki-nare-goromo o UTSUnoyama UTSUTSU. These lines are based on two poems in the Yatsuhashi story in the Ise monogatari. In the phrase ki-nare-goromo there is an echo of the famous poem in which each line begins with a syllable of the word kakitsubata: Kara-goromo Ki-tsutsu narenishi Tsuma shi are-ba Haru-baru kinuru Tabi o shi zo omou, 'Thought of the wife I came to know so well, and memories of the Chinese robe she used to wear, make me realise how far from home the wanderer has come.' The second poem is Suruga naru Utsunoyama-be no Utsutsu ni mo Yume ni mo hito no Awanu narikeri, 'Beside Utsunoyama here in Suruga, my love comes to me neither in dreams nor in reality.'

77. Omoi o SURUga. The place referred to is the modern Shizuoka.

78. Soko to mo SHIRANami.

79. This is a reference to the parable in the Hokke-kyō hiyubon which, after saying 'There is no rest in the three worlds, which are like a burning house', tells how a rich man's house caught fire while his children were still inside absorbed in their play. They were only persuaded to leave by being told that waiting outside were three carriages

drawn by sheep, deer, and oxen. The rich man represents the Buddha, the burning house the present world, and the carriages the Three Vehicles of Buddhist doctrine.

80. Daitsūchishōbutsu (Sans.: Mahabhijnanabhibhu). Under the theory of Ryōbu Shinto, which held that the Shinto gods were manifestations of those of Buddhism, the god honoured at Mishima was regarded as the avatar of the above Buddha.

81. Yuki no FURUe.

APPENDIX 2

The Record Of The Special Festival At The Kasuga Wakamiya Shrine In 1349.

This document was found in about 1934 in the possession of the Suzuka family, members of which had for long been connected with the Yoshida Shrine in Kyōto as priests. Parts of it were first published by Nose in 1937 in an article in the periodical Bungaku and in the following year in his Nōgaku genryū-kō[1]. There most of the text, including all the most important parts, were quoted from a copy of the original in the possession of Kyōto University. In 1939 a few lines only were quoted by Miyatake in his Kasuga Wakamiya On-matsuri to Sarugaku[2], but in 1948 Nagashima gave the complete text as an appendix to his Chūsei bungei no genryū.

The text may conveniently be divided into the following sections, which have been indicated in the translation by numbers in brackets:

(1) Date of Festival.

(2) Procession of the priestesses (miko).

(3) Performance of Sarugaku Nō by the priestesses in the Prayer Hall (Haiden)

(4) Names of the Dengaku players (male kagura players attached to the shrine), and their performance at the Main Shrine.

(5) General account of the procession.

(6) Performance of Dengaku Nō in the Prayer Hall.

(7) Seating in the Prayer Hall during the Sarugaku by the priestesses.

(8) The official on duty and details of provisions.

(9) Money provided by the priestesses.

(10) Expenditure of this.

(11) Money provided by the male kagura players.

(12) Dengaku teachers.

Section (5) explains that all those taking part in the procession assembled at the Carriage-house (kuruma-yadori) below the second torii and moved in procession from there to the Main Shrine. The priestesses went on from there to the Wakamiya, leaving the male kagura players behind to give a short Dengaku performance. The priestesses waited in the Prayer Hall of the Wakamiya until the kagura players had passed beyond it into the Purification House (chōzu-ya), and then came out to perform their Sarugaku in front of the shrine. When they had finished, they were replaced by the men, who performed Dengaku. A more logical order for the early sections would therefore have been (1), (5), (2), (4), (3), (7), (6).

The sections of greatest interest, those dealing with the performances of Sarugaku and Dengaku Nō, can be satisfactorily understood. But, in a number of other places, difficulties of interpretation are caused by most of the text being in kata-kana with no nigori signs, by some of the kana spellings

apparently following colloquial corruptions, and by the text having characters, words or whole phrases missing here and there. There are, too, some minor differences between the versions of the text as given by Nose and Nagashima. The later one, having been taken from the original document, is the more reliable and, being also complete, has been used for the following translation. Variants in Nose's text have been noted only when they would give a different meaning. The readings assigned in the course of translation to words and phrases of doubtful meaning have been given in the notes when they have not been suggested by Nagashima. Where characters are shown by him to be missing in the original text, an indication of this has been given in the translation by putting a corresponding part in square brackets. The annotated illustrations of the Wakamiya Festival procession given in the Kasuga Ōmiya Wakamiya Go-sairei-zu (3) were found especially useful for comparison with the part of the text dealing with this subject. The Yamato shiryō, vol.1, was also a help on detailed points concerning shrine buildings and the titles of officials.

The Proceedings Of The Special Festival In The Prayer Hall On The Tenth Day Of The Second Moon Of The Year Of The Earth (Younger Brother) And Ox, The Fifth Year Of Jōwa (4).

(1) This Special Festival should have been on the 17th. day of the 11th. moon of the /4th./ year of Jō/wa/ , but it did not take place in that year because of the thirty days'

/mou/rning following the death of the retired-emperor priest[5]. It /took/ place, therefore, on the /10th./ day of the 2nd. /moon/ of the 5th. year. The /gakutō/[6] pleaded that, a/lt/hough the part before the Translation Hall (utsushi-dono) and the Golden Hall[7] was shut off, the prayers were of such national importance that the transfer of the office[8] to him should be /?announced/ to the priest in charge of supplies and to Zenshi-bō of the Tō-in[9] from the Prayer Hall. When he was told that the announcement would be made and that /the performances/ should be given, it was arranged that it should take place on the 8th. day of the 2nd. moon. As this fell on the wrong day for those taking part in the /Sa/rugaku[10], however, it was postponed for two days, until the 10th.

(2) The proceedings were as follows:

Shira-tsue[11] : Sa no Ichi-dono[12] Kaga Gozen.

She wore a chihaya[13] over a /r/ed kariginu[14] robe. She wore this although snow had made the roads muddy. She also /wo/re finely woven ōkuchi[15].

Bearer of the sacred staffs: Otozuru Gozen.

She, too, wore a chihaya over a red kariginu robe, and finely woven ōkuchi. The five sacred staffs were made at the general expense[16] of the Prayer Hall. Stiff paper to be inserted into them had five.....

Two totsura boys[17] : Sonkiku Gozen, Ato Gozen.

Naoshi[18] top-coats.

(19)
.....
(20)
/Se/ino : Tokuō Gozen, Hiko Gozen.

Both wore finely woven ōkuchi.

(21)
Hitotsu-mono : Mumeō Gozen.

(22)
/Two/..... : Shunzai Gozen, Emmei Gozen.

(23)
Neri-hōshi : Shunkaku Gozen.

With a fine imitation sword, she wore a wide-brimmed hat.

Two bearers of spare bows: Chōju Gozen, Haruchiyo Gozen.

(24)
Target bearer : Kanze Gozen.

She performed this duty immediately after joining.

Archery on horseback: Shun... Gozen.

Two military aides: Tsuruju Gozen, Hōju Gozen.

Sarugaku during the procession: Miya no Ichi-dono Iyamasu Gozen, Harutatsu Gozen.

(25)
Itchō : Amamasu Gozen.

Over a /kari/ginu she wore a waistband into which both her hands were pushed.

(3) Sarugaku by those attached to the Prayer Hall, performed

(26)
when the procession had passed :

(27)
Tsui-harai no mai : Mumeō Gozen.

Okina omote : Otozuru Gozen.

Samba Sarugau : Sa no Ichi-dono Kaga Gozen.

Kaja-no-kimi : Amamasu Gozen.

The part of Kaja-no-kimi should have been taken by

Hiko Gozen, but she was unable to appear because of fatigue after the procession and /Āmamasu Gozen/ played it at a moment's notice.

Chichi-no-jō : Harutatsu Gozen.

Two Sarugaku, the first of which was about Norikiyo composing tem poems in the Toba Hall[28]. The names of the Sarugaku players were:

The retired Emperor:	Amamasu Gozen.
The Empress:	Sonkiku Gozen.
Otome-no-mae:	Mumeō Gozen.
Tō-no-ben:	Harutsuru Gozen.
Norikiyo:	Tsuruju Gozen.
Noriyasu:	Hōju Gozen.

The interval following this Sarugaku being extended, Otozuru Gozen danced a rambyōshi[29], dressed as she was for Okina-omote.

The second Sarugaku was about the illness of Izumi Shikibu and the visit of Murasaki Shikibu[30]. Murasaki Shikibu was played by Sonkiku Gozen; Izumi Shikibu by Tsuruju Gozen; two flowers[31] by Harutatsu Gozen and Hōju Gozen; and Musubu-no-kami[32] was played by Mumeō Gozen.

At rehearsals the Sarugaku Fuji was taught, but as evening was coming on it was not given.

(4) Names of the Dengaku players:

Gakuto[33]: the senior player[34] Kiyohisa.

The hats[35] were at the general expense, and the other robes left to private arrangement. But the /r/obes for this gakutō were borrowed from the head servant of the Daijō-in[36]. In addition, he wore straw sandals, socks, and a skirt over his robes. Over the top he wore a coat. In his fine ōkuchi he carried a handsome sword. He also borrowed a rosary of white beads from a child priestess and hung them round his neck.

Bearer of the sacred staffs: Naka-no-mono[37] Hiko-tarō. He wore a kubitate[38] and an oshire-koshi[39], a suo[40] jacket, sandals, socks and, similarly, a coat on top. Since Hiko-tarō was told that he should wear a robe with a skirt attached, he wore this oshire-koshi, being pressed for time.

He carried the sacred staffs from the Carriage-house and passed them on to the gakutō in front of the Hall of the Main Shrine. The gakutō Kiyohisa took four of the staffs from him, offered them up at the shrine and handed them over to Kagetada, a priest of the northen district. The remaining staff was similarly taken by him and passed on to a priest before the Hall of the Wakamiya. The official in charge of prayers at the Main Shrine was the head priest Morotoshi-dono. Wakamiya :- the head priest Suketō-dono.

Payment for this was the sum of 1 kammon to the Main Shrine, consisting of 500 /mon/ granted to the

head priest and 500 mon to Suketane, the chief official[41]. 1 kammon was sent to the Wakamiya, solely for the head priest there.

Of the servants' sacred staffs, four were likewise taken to the Main Shrine and one to the Wakamiya.

Warden[42]: Harutane, the shrinekeeper resident at the Wakamiya. He is the senior member at the Wakamiya. He said that everyone was so well behaved that, in view of his age, he was allowed to excuse himself from the duties of warden.

Administrative officer[43]: Haruiya, sasara[44].
Harumasa, sasara.
Kiyoaki, sasara.
Kiyomichi, sasara.

Drum: Harutada.

Big drums: Kiyotane, Hisaharu, Haruyasu, Kiyoari, Kamitoshi.

Fluteplayer: Harufuru.

Flower-hat[45] and high clogs. For the crests on his costume, he had dragon-and-tiger crests on the shoulders of his suikan; large-crested sashinuki[46]. He did not wear socks.

Hats and accoutrements for the Dengaku players - since the professional players of Dengaku had all gone back, the sashinuki were all borrowed from the chamberlain[47]. The suikan, and even the undergarments, were borrowed from Mago-saburō Nyūdō of the

secondary shrine[48] ; on payment.

For hats, they used made-up ones. With hats of woven cypress strips as a base, yellow-dyed paper was covered with silk. Dyed leather was also pressed on in the same way. Eight were done like this[49].

For the big drums and riding-poles[50], accoutrements were borrowed from Hirose and repainted;payment for the painting.

The sasara were new ones made by Iwai; payment for the five.

Juggling with knives was done by Harutane.

The comic priest (okashi hōshi) was played by Harutada.

Comic priest's assistant: Hisaharu.

Pole-riding: also by Harutane.

But as this was only an act of piety,[51] he did not mount the pole.

Pole-riding by the comic priest was the same - as it was only an act of piety, he did not mount the pole either. Nevertheless, this Harutada is an amusing fellow and plays the comic priest splendidly. He is also skilful at Nō.

(5) Account of the procession:

It was arranged that those taking part in the procession would leave the Prayer Hall and the various places where they had been staying and go to the Carriage-house at 8 a.m. on the 10th. day of the 2nd. moon.

From the Carriage-house they passed through the second torii and went up from there to the shrine. Passing the front of the Arrival Hall (52), they went in at the South Gate, passed between the Dance Hall (mai-dono) and the Lecture-house (hakkō-ya), went along the eastern side of the Sumiyoshi /Shrine/ and, circling round the surrounding fence, left by the South Gate again. Then they passed the Prayer-house (hai-no-ya) attached to the Wakamiya Hall. The Sarugaku players went into the Prayer Hall and, when the procession had passed, hurried out and performed Sarugaku - in the Prayer-house, that is.

The procession of the Dengaku players was the same except that when, during the procession, they came to the front of the Main Shrine and passed before it, they then entered the Dance Hall from the back on the east side. After juggling with knives merely as an act of piety and giving one comic priest's dance, they went in procession to the Wakamiya Hall forthwith. Passing in front of it, they went as far as the /Shrine of the/ Thirty-eight Places (53) where they rehearsed various parts. From there, they went into the Purification House and had a meal while awaiting /the end of/ the Sarugaku by the priestesses. When this was over, they assembled behind the Wakamiya Sutra House, on the north side, and entered from

from that side. After they had entered, the gakutō and the bearers of the sacred staffs sat themselves on folding stools beside and to the east of the Prayer house. The Dengaku players sat in rows on mats on the north and south sides of the Prayer-house, with the leaders at the eastern end. The mats were the bordered ones from the Prayer Hall. They quickly laid out those that had been put down there by the priestesses.

(6) Account of the Nō by the Dengaku players:

The first dance was given by Harutada, who then went on just as he was to play in a tachi-ai Sarugaku (54). There were four players in the tachi-ai - Harutada, Hisaharu, Haruyasu, and Harutami - and they performed Take no Sarugaku.

The first main Sarugaku (55) told the story of how the Emperor Murakami sent a retainer as an envoy to China where he met a master of the biwa named Renshōbu and brought three biwa melodies back with him to Japan.

Kiyotane took the part of the Emperor Murakami; Haruyasu took the part of Teibin; and Harutada took the part of Renshōbu.

When the envoy is on his way back to Japan bringing with him the three melodies, the Dragon King and Dragon Gods appear and seize these three melodies.

The Dragon Gods were played by Kamitoshi and

Harutami. They were the Dragon Gods, and Kiyoari took the part of the Dragon King. These three wore masks. Kiyoari was dressed as a king.

Then, in the interval between the Sarugaku, a Shirabyōshi dance was given. Kiyoyoshi - a child's dance, a rambyōshi.

The last Sarugaku, the Sarugaku Prince Hanzoku (56), was about the capture of King Fumyō.

Haruyasu took the part of King Fumyō and Kiyotane that of a Minister of State. Harutami took the part of a holy man (57) and Harutada that of Prince Hanzoku. Harumasa took the part of a king (58). Two of the five guardian Bosatsu were Hisaharu and Haruiya (59).

(7) The seating in the Prayer Hall (60) during the Sarugaku by the priestesses:

The priestesses in the Prayer Hall were on the south side, with the leaders at the eastern end. Kiyoari, playing the small drum, sat on a folding stool. He played the drum behind the pillar in the south-west corner of the Prayer-house. Naka-no-mono Hiko-tarō sat under the eaves in the south-west corner of the Prayer-house, and Sakon no Shirō at the back on the western side. As there was no flute-player, the servant Masayuki was employed to play the flute. He too played sitting on a bordered mat at the back of the Prayer-house on the western side.

The dress at this time consisted of a pinkish hitatare[61] and an ōkatabira[62] worn by Kiyoari with a finely woven ōkuchi; and pale yellow hitatare worn likewise by the other three. On the entry of the Dengaku /players/, Kiyoari went into the Purification House and changed this dress.

(8) The tenth day of the second moon:

The day duty for this Special Festival was taken by the priest in charge of Buddhist ceremonies (Dai-gyōji-dono). On this occasion, the priest holding this office was Shōdō-in-dono.

Big salted tai[63]. A long-handled ladle provided with the jar.

Four kinds of fish:

Hasu[64] - ten pieces, one box.

Dried cuttlefish - one box;(covered box with legs; sliced[65]).

Abalone - one box (fifteen skewers of big abalone).

Salted salmon - one box, three fish.

All were covered boxes on legs, with tops measuring one foot three inches.

Rice cakes wrapped in bamboo leaves - ten boxes.

Saemon Jirō, the deputy for the land officer[66], came with these.

(9) Three priestesses were admitted for the sake of this Special Festival[67]. Properly[68], 27 kammon are required, but

they were excused 7 and admitted for 20 kammon. Names of those who joined on this occasion: Tsuruō Gozen, Ato Gozen, Kanze Gozen.

Amounts provided by them:

Ato Gozen came first on the 27th. day of the 8th. moon, 1348, and gave the sum of 20 kammon, as stated. Since the Prayer Hall was so cheerless at the time of her arrival, she provided rice-wine. Accompanying one keg of wine was pickled food: hasu (mixed with vinegar); taro roots (horyu[69]). These victuals were duly given to the elders[70].

Tsuruō Gozen came on the 1st. day of the 10th. moon of the same year, payment being 20 kammon.

Kanze Gozen came on the 6th. day of the 2nd. moon, 1349, payment being 20 kammon. She provided rice-wine on arrival. One keg of wine, and two food dishes: one bowl of yams; ten boxes of oysters, and tangle. Wine-cups on a small tray were given. These were likewise all given to the elders.

Total: 60 kammon.

Payment by those who had no function on this occasion was 300 mon.[71] Names (not given in order of rank[72]): Tsuruō Gozen (25th. day, 1st. moon); Toku-yasha[73] Gozen (same day); Senzai Gozen (27th. day); Shun-ichi Gozen (same day); Haruwaka Gozen (same day); Kamematsu Gozen (28th. day); Fujimatsu Gozen (29th. day); Fukuju

Gozen (same day); Haruwaka Gozen (same day); Harutora Gozen (same day); Shunkō Gozen (1st. day, 2nd. moon); Shuntoku Gozen (2nd. day, same moon); Haru-yasha Gozen (2nd. day); Mimasu Gozen (same day); Tora Gozen (same day); Shundō Gozen (same day (74)); Umematsu Gozen (same day); Harumi Gozen; Harunaka Gozen (2nd. day); Shunchō Gozen (2nd. day); Hatsu Gozen (2nd. day).

Manzai Gozen (2nd. day); Wakamatsu Gozen (2nd. day); absent because of her monthly days); Ishimatsu Gozen (2nd. day); Harumasa Gozen; absent because in mourning); Naka Gozen (75) (2nd. day); Uta Gozen (2nd. day); Harumatsu Gozen (2nd. day); Gohai Gozen (2nd. day); Haramasu Gozen (2nd. day; absent because in mourning. She had been coached in Sarugaku but suddenly became unclean); Senshōin (2nd. day); Jōruri-in (2nd. day); Shunkō Gozen (2nd. day).

Total: 10 kan 200 mon. (76)

(10) Uses to which the above sum of 70 kan 200 mon was put:

To the men performing kagura, 35 kammon. 1 kammon of this, however, was given to Harutada, who was employed by the men performing kagura, when he was invited to the Prayer Hall and given wine. This was the amount paid to them.

The Sarugaku master Tō Tayū suffered the death of his son on the 13th. day of the 11th. moon of 1348 and, as an expression of sympathy, 3 kammon were sent to him by

the hand of Naka-no-mono Hiko-tarō. As his period of mourning was over at the time of the farewell on the 11th. day of the 2nd. moon of 1349, he was invited to the Prayer Hall and given 5 kammon. 2 kammon were likewise given to his son Saburō.

Total given: 10 kammon.

A gift of dyed cloth was presented in the official residence to Mago-tarō, the flute-player brought by Tō Tayū. Paid for out of general expenses.

The rehearsals for this performance were held in the residence of the head priest of the Wakamiya. Those who were in mourning or whose monthly days had come rehearsed on the veranda.

The sum of 1 kammon was given to Kiyoari for playing the drum.

1 kammon was given to Naka-no-mono Hiko-tarō; 1 kammon to Sakon-no-Shirō; 1 kammon to Saburō; and 500 mon to Mama. 3 kan 500 mon to the four.

2 kammon given to the totsura teacher (the boy cousin of Chikuzen, belonging to the Prayer Hall; he is a pupil of Sō no Ichi (77)).

1 kammon to Masayuki, who played the flute. (100 mon (78) were also given to him to buy a ceremonial hat).

Payment for the sacred staffs for the Main Shrine and the Wakamiya, 2 kammon.

Total: 54 kan 600 mon.

Uses of the money remaining after these expenses:

On the 1st. day of the 10th. moon of 1348, 2 kan 534 mon were paid from the general purse of the Prayer Hall for crests on the robe of Otozuru Gozen.

170 /mon/ in payment for a drum ring.

100 mon spent on rice-wine for the gathering of the men who played kagura and the priestesses in the Translation Hall.

190 mon for food to go with this, used for the same purpose.

Total: 3 kammon.

12 kan 600 mon were spent between the 2nd. day of the 10th. moon of 1348, when rehearsals began in the residence of the head priest of the Wakamiya, and the 11th. day of the 2nd. moon of 1349. This makes up the 70 kan 200 mon. Apart from this money, however, charcoal and oil were bought with money for kagura, out of that for kagura in the Prayer Hall. Those from the Prayer Hall (79) did their rehearsals separately from the priestesses.

Wine for the residence /was dealt with by/ Tamon Gozen. Mama (80) was sent in to ask about this, and the amount required was drawn by sending a chit first and the money for the wine later.

For food at the residence, payment was made to Kiyohisa, a minor official. With it, he provided the food.

The Sarugaku master Tō Tayū was fed in the Kitchen of the Purification House. Bean-soup and vegetables were sent from the house of the minor official Kiyohisa. Later, after he went into mourning, he stayed at the house of Kiyohisa, purified (81) himself night and morning, and went to the Prayer Hall to watch (82).

(11) Sum contributed by the men who performed kagura:

Money provided from the Prayer Hall, 35 kammon; in addition, the amount given individually by the fifteen kagura players, 49 kan 634 mon, was it ?

(12) There were at first two teachers for the Dengaku by the male kagura players, but /one/ died before the training in their Sarugaku /plays/ was finished. This ..... of Handa Dengaku (83). The other was Iwai no Kyōrembō, who finished off the training on his own. This was only the part up to the first exit. The later Sarugaku were presented by appealing to Chūkō no Shunkembō.

Notes To Appendix 2.

1. 'Jōwa no Sarugaku Nō', Bungaku 1937, vol.5 no.3; and NG 355-67.
2. p.47.
3. A work by Fujiwara Jun in 3 bks., dated 1742. It is also referred to as the Kasuga Wakamiya Go-sairei ryakki, but this is, in fact, only the title of one section of the work. The illustrations are reproduced by Miyatake, Kasuga Wakamiya On-matsuri to Sarugaku 20-39.
4. 1349.
5. The retired Emperor Hanazono, who abdicated in 1318 in favour of his cousin Go-Daigo.
6. The title of the official in charge of entertainments forming part of religious ceremonies. Two gakutō were usually appointed for the Wakamiya Festival but, on this occasion, there seems to have been only one, probably because it was not a full-scale ceremony with performances by professional players. (See n.33 below, however, concerning the use of this term in the text.)

   Due partly to the sentence being incomplete, the translation is only tentative. Miyatake's qtn. of it shows some characters missing between na-ka-e and kumokudai , but the text given by Nagashima runs straight on; Nose does not quote this part.
7. Kondō. Strictly, this is a Buddhist term for the main hall of

a temple where the deity is enshrined, but here it clearly refers to the part of the Kasuga Shrine housing the four buildings of the four gods worshipped there.

8. Reading the textsas on-na-gae. Although at some shrines the office of gakutō was the monopoly of one person, at the Kōfuku-ji, which organized the Wakamiya Festival, such appointments were made annually.

9. Officials of the Kōfuku-ji, of which the Tō-in was part.

10. That is, some of the priestesses were unclean because they were having their periods then.

11. This reading is given in kana in the text, but the Chinese characters for these words were later read suwae, zuwae, or zubae in connection with the Wakamiya Festival. The object referred to is a young branch from a plum tree which is carried at the head of the procession beside the sacred staffs (gohei) and offered up at the shrine in the same way as them.

12. 'Ichi-dono' was a general term for miko who perform religious dances, but among the miko attached to the Kasuga Shrine the senior members of the Main Group (Honza) were known as Sō no Ichi(-dono), Sa no Ichi, U no Ichi, and Gon no Ichi; and those of the East Group (Tōza) as Miya no Ichi, Sa no Ichi, and U no Ichi.

13. Said to be the most ancient of all Japanese garments, the earliest type of chihaya consisted simply of a long roll of cloth with an opening for the head cut out about two

feet from one end. The shorter end hung down in front of the body and the remaining length of about sixteen feet trailed behind. The fact that such chihaya are still worn by the carriers of the plum branch and gohei at the Wakamiya Festival, and the reference in the text to the muddy state of the road, make it clear that, although the bearers were in this case miko, it was this type of chihaya that was worn and not the later type of sleeved jacket worn particularly by miko.

14. A high-necked garment with wide sleeves sewn to the body part only at the back. Being originally a robe used for hunting, the hanging sleeves had cords threaded through their outer edges by which they could be drawn up out of the way. When the kariginu became more widely used, the cords were kept for decoration.

15. Seigō Ōkuchi. Seigō, or seigō-ori, was a type of fine weaving in which highly glossed thread was used for the warp and unfinished thread for the weft. The cloth was sually white or red in colour and was widely used in the Kamakura period (1192-1336), especially for various kinds of hakama, of which ōkuchi was one. These garments resembled very wide trousers or a long divided skirt.

16. Sō no sata nite. Although this meaning has not been found in any dictionary, it is clearly indicated by the first of the three other uses of sō in the text (CBG 222 l.6), where it stands in opposition to watakushi no hikei.

17. The text has nashichi but no meaning is known for the word in this context. The only other reference to nashichi in the text (CBG 231 l.1) probably mentions a teacher, which indicates that the figures represented were connected with some form of artistic accomplishment. A comparison with the traditional participants in the procession strongly suggests that the priestesses here represented the 'totsura no chigo'. These are four boys who, with headresses of cherry blossom, ride on horseback in the procession and later perform Azuma-asobi dances. The suggestion is supported by a reference to chigo in connection with the second mention of 'nashichi', and by the possibility of misreading totsura, when written 十ツラ, as ナシナ.

18. Given in the text as noshi. Naoshi was a type of long, high-necked over-garment, usually lined, which was the everyday informal wear of Court nobles.

19. Text incomplete.

20. These dancers, usually six in number, and dressed all in white, are peculiar to the Kasuga Wakamiya and one or two other shrines. They ride on horseback in the procession in Nara and play flutes and drums in the ceremonies before the great pine known as the Eikō-no-matsu. Later, before the Wakamiya, they play their instruments and perform a simple dance with their faces covered. Their origin is unknown, but legend has it that it dates from the time of the Empress Jingō, who lived in the fourth century. Among the many signs

and portents which were connected with her intended invasion of Korea was one from the god Isora, who lived on the sea bed. He was only enticed from his home in the sea when all the other gods, who had obeyed the Empress and assembled at Kajima in Hitachi, performed a dance called seinō. As his face was encrusted with sea shells and unbearable to look on, it was hidden from view by a cloth. One account of his emergence from the sea to join the other gods is given in the Taihei-ki bk.39 'Jingū Kōgō Shinra o semetamau koto', Yūhōdō bunko ed. vol.29, 626-7.

21. The name given to boys who, splendidly arrayed and heavily made up, ride on horseback in religious festivals in many parts of Japan. Usually there is only one child of this kind in each procession, but sometimes as many as five are found. If he should doze while riding in the procession, this is taken as a happy sign that the spirit of the god has entered into him.

22. Text incomplete.

23. Eight of these people took part in the procession of the Special Kasuga Festival in 1387 (see Kakyō gannen Kasuga rinjisai-ki, in Zoku gunsho ruijū ser.2, vol.2a, 199) and they occasionally figure in accounts of festivals elsewhere. But they do not appear to have taken part at all regularly in the Wakamiya Festival and nothing is known of the part they played.

24. The text gives matsu-mochi 'pine-bearers', but as no mention

of such a role in the Wakamiya ceremonies has been found and this entry cOmes between others for bow-carriers and archers, the word must surely be a corrupt form of mato-mochi 'target-bearers'. People carrying wooden targets for archery still form a regular part of the procession.

25. Meaning unknown.

26. Since the kana su-ki-te is followed by ni, it seems at first that it cannot be taken as the verbal form sugite. But there is no satisfactory alternative and a similar verbal form followed by ni occurs later in the text (CBG 230 l.2). It therefore seems that ni could be used in the same way as the modern kara, with the meaning '(at the time) when'.

27. A corruption of Tsuyu-harai no mai, a name given to the opening dance of a performance. Here, this and the next four items were early forms of the dances which went to make up the special piece in Nō known as Okina. Samba Sarugau (or Sarugō) is a corruption of Samban Sarugaku.

28. This story is to be found in the Saigyō monogatari (see the work called Saigyō hōshi e-kotoba in Zoku gunsho ruijū ser. 2, vol.32a bk.941, 351-5). It tells how, in 1127, Saigyō composed in one day ten excellent poems to decorate the screens in the Toba Hall in readiness for a visit by the Emperor. Saigyō's lay name was Satō Norikiyo; Noriyasu accompanied him to the Hall; and Otome-no-mae and Tō-no-ben were Court servants who brought Saigyō presents from the Emperor and Empress.

For discussion on the Nō given in the Sarugaku and

Dengaku performances at this Festival, see above, pp. 229-32 and 313-7 respectively.

29. A dance said to derive originally from Bugaku and apparently associated particularly with Shirabyōshi (see another mention in this text, p.393, and Chap.IV 123 n.34 above.)

30. A literary source for this story is not known.

31. The nature of these roles is uncertain, but they may have been the spirits of the plum and cherry blossom, each representing one of the poetesses.

32. The god from whom everything comes, who provides all things.

33. The text gives only ka-to-u, but gatō is commonly found for gakutō in documents of this and later periods. The fact that the word was spelt in full as ka-ku-ta-u at the beginning of the text suggests - if the incomplete sentence there has been understood correctly - that there may have been a distinction between the two; that is to say, that the priest in charge of all the entertainments was referred to as the gakutō, and the head of the Dengaku players as the gatō. But nothing has been found in other documents to support this idea.

34. Ichirō. The male kagura players at the Kasuga Shrine normally numbered twelve who were known as ichirō, nirō etc. and a thirteenth called suisanshoku.

35. Nagashima suggests that ho-u-shi should be taken as hōshi, but it is difficult to make sense of this in the context.

36. He and the Ichijō-in were the two monzeki of the Kōfuku-ji. Monzeki were nobles, usually of Imperial blood, who took religious orders and were appointed as heads of famous temples.

37. This title has not been found in reference works, but it presumably signified a shrine servant similar, perhaps, to those known as uchi-bito at Ise and one or two other shrine

38. A robe worn with the collar standing up to form a triangle hiding the back of the head.

39. No such word has been found elsewhere, but it clearly indicated some kind of plain or divided skirt, probably a type of hakama.

40. A short sleeved jacket which developed in the early Muromachi period, when it was part of the everyday wear of the people

41. Masa no azukari-dono. This was the name used at the Kasuga Shrine for the senior administrative officer. There being also two kannushi, one each at the Main Shrine andd the Wakamiya, who were concerned solely with religious duties, he was equivalent to the official now known as the gūji.

42. Sentō, a term used for certain low-grade Buddhist temple officials in Nara, who usually married and carried out such miscellaneous duties as acting as guards etc. at masses and festivals.

43. Reading kōtō for the kotō in the text; this indicated a Buddhist official dealing withe general temple affairs.

44. An instrument traditionally associated with Dengaku which

consisted of short strips of wood set vertically and strung together to a length of two feet or so. When held at the tapered ends and jerked up and down, it produces a harsh rattling sound.

45. The word hari-kasa, given in the text, has not been found. The flute-player in the Dengaku troupe at the Wakamiya Festival, however, traditionally wears an enormous wide-brimmed hat decorated with flowers and a miniature landscape which is known as a hana-kasa, and it is presumably something of this kind that is referred to in the text.

46. A type of hakama, or long divided skirt, in which cords threaded through the bottom of the legs are tied at the ankles.

47. Bōkan; here, the official who ran the household of a monzeki, in this case no doubt that of the Daijō-in.

48. Nagashima's reading of the kana as Ima-mikado no Mago-saburō gives little meaning. In view of the possibility of confusing the katakana signs for ka and ya, the phrase before the name has been read as Ima-miya-dono. An ima-miya is a new or subsidiary shrine.

49. The interpretation of the last two sentences is doubtful. The osu (wo-su) in the first one may possibly refer to the tanning of leather (cf. oshi-kawa etc.), but the meaning given seems rather more likely.

50. Taka-ashi, given in the text as takashi. These are wooden poles used like single stilts. They are usually six or

seven feet tall, with a cross-piece about one-third of the way up on which the performer stands. Holding the top part of the pole, he then hops around. (See Chap.VII 215-6).

51. Reading kishin as 寄進 .

52. Chakutō-dono, the hall to which members of the Imperial family and Imperial envoys came first when visiting a shrine. At Kasuga it is about half-way between the second torii and the South Gate of the Main Shrine.

53. Sanjuhassho (Jinja), a shrine honouring three gods, situated just south of the Wakamiya. It was erected in the period 1154-6.

54. A piece given by a number of players in a combined performance. Take no Sarugaku cannot now be identified, but such combined performances of certain pieces are still given by Sarugaku players at the Wakamiya Festival.

55. Omo Sarugaku. Although an uncommon term, its meaning seems clear from the fact that it follows a mention of tachi-ai Sarugaku, which probably consisted only of song and dance, and that the term omo has survived in Kyōgen with the meaning of 'protagonist'.

The story of this first piece is found in several works, including the Heike monogatari (bk.7 'Seizan no sata', Yūhōdō bunko ed. vol.25, 340-1). The account there has it that, in the year 850, the Emperor Nimmyō sent Kamon-no-kami Sadatoshi (called teibin in the text) to China where he met Renshōbu. From him he obtained three melodies and

three biwa of great renown called Seizan, Genjō, and Shishimaru. Only the first two of these instruments were brought back to Japan , however, because the last one had to be given up to the Dragon God who, in his envy, had raised a storm at sea. Over a century later the spirit of Renshōbu appeared to the Emperor Murakami as he sat playing the biwa Genjō, and taught him a third melody.

56. According to the version of this story in the Soga monogatari (bk.7 'Hanzoku-ō no koto', Yūhōdō bunko ed. vol.30, 612-3), which is described as coming from the Nio-kyō, an Indian ruler called Hanzoku planned to capture and kill a thousand other princes. During the day's respite he allowed his thousandth prisoner before the executions were carried out, however, some Buddhist sermons he heard made him realize his wickedness and release all his prisoners.

57. Reading taishi as 大師 . The Nose text has taishin but, to judge from the way the other roles are given, this was due to the katakana sign for ni being misread as n.

58. The Nose text has so-u instead of wa-u; this would make the meaning 'priest' instead of 'king'.

59. The text gives Haruyoshi 春珍 , but this and Harutami are the only names of Dengaku performers not mentioned in the earlier list of fourteen, and the last part of the text states that there were only fifteen in all. It therefore seems likely that this is the same person as the Haruiya in the list, where -iya was written in kana, and that the

character 珍 (-yoshi) has been confused with the form 弥 of the character read -iya.

60. The Nose text would give only 'the seating during....'.

61. Kō no hitatare. The colour of the material comes from a warp of pale red thread tinged with yellow, and a weft of white. A hitatare was a sleeved jacket which was fastened by cords across the chest and had other cords threaded through the outer edges of the sleeves.

62. A type of unlined jacket with sleeves.

63. Meaning uncertain. It is possible that tai means the fish of that name common in Japan, but the 'ladle provided with the jar' and the fact that the text goes on to specify four kinds of fish in a separate entry make this appear unlikely.

64. Aliohaelangata; a fish which grows to about two feet in length

65. Tentative translation for sashimori.

66. Teishi no daikan. Teishi was one of the titles given to officials concerned with the administration of the estates belonging to the great shrines and temples in Yamato.

67. It was customary for the miko taking part in the Festival to include some, known as sato-miko, who did not belong to the shrine itself but came from places within its lands. It seems that the three mentioned here, however, were allowed to join the miko groups of the Kasuga Shrine as permanent members for the sake of their joining fees which, as is made clear below, provided most of the money for the Festival.

68. Tentative translation, understanding shiki ni as 式 = .

69. Meaning unknown.

70. Otona-kata. The term otona was commonly used of the senior members of groups connected with shrines (see Higo, Miya-za no kenkyū 216-51). But the senior members of the miko groups at the Kasuga Shrine, together with the chief kagura players and other officials, were known collectively by the similar term rōshū, and it is perhaps this group that is meant, rather than the senior miko alone.

71. The text gives the sum as '3 kammon' but, from what follows, it is clear that kan is a mistake for hyaku.

72. Amending ra-mu-shi to rasshi. If the latter was the pronunciation at the time, it is conceivable that the syllable mu was used as n is elsewhere in the text (e.g. CBG 231 l.13 has monte for motte), to indicate a doubling of the following consonant; alternatively, it seems possible for the character 次 to have been misread as 𠂉 and 冫 .

73. The third character of this name, given in the text as 刃 , is clearly a mistake for 又 .

74. The text gives 'fourth day', but as the entries before and after this refer to the 'second day' and there is no other mention of a later date, it probably arises from a misreading of 同日 as 四日 .

75. 'Gozen' is given in the text as 'Mikado'.

76. This total would mean payment by 34 miko, but the list contains only 33 names and two of these may have been given

twice. These are Haruwaka and Shunkō, but the second character in each of these names is written in kana the second time the name is given and this may indicate that the four names signified different miko and that, when they were first given, they should have been read Shunjaku (or Shunnyaku) and Harumitsu respectively.

77. The meaning of the first part of this note in the text is not clear. The reference to 'Chikuzen' seems strange and it is tempting to amend this to 'Gozen' so that the note mentions a 'Fukumi Gozen of the Prayer Hall', but no justification for this can be found.

78. The Nose text mistakenly gives '200 mon'.

79. Reading 方 for the 大 in the text.

80. Reading Mama for the ama in the text, which seems inappropriate to the context. Payment to a person called Mama was mentioned above and the katakana signs for ma and a could easily be confused. The interpretation of this sentence remains uncertain, however.

81. Reading sa-u-shi as sōshi, a corruption of shōjin 'religious purification', as suggested by Nagashima.

82. The text is corrupt here, appearing as ke-n-n-wo-i-ta-su. (The Nose text has a blank space instead of the second n.) Since it was stated above that those in mourning rehearsed on the veranda, the Sarugaku teacher presumably continued with his duties and, in the translation, the phrase has been read as 'genzō itasu'. Genzō was a common corruption

of the period for genzan 見参 (see, e.g., 'SD', TZN 352, and the Sambasō section of Okina); and the second katakana sign for n in the above phrase could easily have been confused with that for so.

83. Following the Nose text, which shows part of this clause as missing.

APPENDIX 3

The Dengaku Nō Plays

Kikusui and Jisei.

The texts used for these translations are those given by Takano in Nihon kayō shūsei vol.5. They have been followed in the apportionment of the texts among the various participants in the plays whenever they give any indication of this; the names have then been given in block capitals, thus: WAKI. A more regular division of the texts has also been indicated as far as this is possible, on the basis of a comparison with the texts of Sarugaku plays resembling Kikusui and Jisei (see Chap.X 325 above) and the standard practice in present-day Nō; but, in this case, the various names have been given in brackets, thus: (WAKI). The text of Jisei calls the main player tayū in the first part and shite in the second; this has been followed in the translation.

Spoken parts have been put into prose and sung parts into free verse. Kake-kotoba which have been worked into the translations have been given in the notes in block capitals, thus: iku-tose ni NARUmigata.

Kikusui

'Chrysanthemum Water'

The conception of chrysanthemums as symbols and bringers of longevity began in ancient China, perhaps as a result

of the comparatively long life of the blooms themselves. In what is now the south-western part of Honan province is a mountain stream called Chü-shui (Kikusui) beside which grew large numbers of chrysanthemums, and tradition has it that the villagers nearby lived to a great age by drinking water from the river which, like the air all about, was rich with the scent of the flowers. From the Han period onwards it was the custom to hold 'chrysanthemum feasts' on the evening of the ninth day of the ninth moon at which chrysanthemum wine was drunk to bring long life. This passed over to Japan as a Court ceremony and was carried on from the early part of the ninth century. In China the wine drunk on these occasions was apparently prepared by mixing the petals of the flowers with rice or barley before fermentation, but in Japan chrysanthemum wine consisted merely of rice wine into which petals had been dropped. In Japan there were many names for these gatherings, the most common being Kiku-no-en and Chōyō-no-en, the name used, for example, in the passage in the Taihei-ki mentioned below. An instance of the currency of the idea in the fourteenth century is to be found in the use by Kusunoki Masashige of a family crest containing a chrysanthemum, the Imperial crest, after the Emperor Go-Daigo had summoned his champion and given him three cups of wine into which he put the petals of a chrysanthemum picked by himself. The history of the formal ceremonies at Court was not unbroken, but the custom was carried on in military circles and, in the Tokugawa period, by all classes.

The superstition regarding chrysanthemums also took other forms. One of these was known as kiku no kise-wata and was current in the early years of the tenth century, if not before. It consisted of placing a small pad of cotton wool over a bloom on the evening of the eighth day of the ninth moon and then, on the following morning when it was wet with dew, rubbing it over the face and body to remove imperfections and ensure long life.

The play Kikusui, which is probably based on a passage in the Taihei-ki (1), tells how an Imperial envoy in ancient China meets a hermit called Hōso (P'êng Tsu). This figure, the Methusaleh of Chinese legend, is said to have served the emperors Yao and Yü so efficiently that he was granted the fief of P'êng, from which he took his name. In 1123 B.C. he was already 767 years old and, so the story goes, was over 800 when he eloped with the last of his many wives and disappeared into the west. The Taihei-ki equates him with a figure known in Japan as Jidō, explaining that he only became the hermit Hōso after exile from Court, but there is no known precedent for this. (2)

Characters

Waki.....an Imperial envoy

Tayū.....Jidō, now the hermit Hōso

Act 1

Jo section:

WAKI (shidai) Happy, indeed, that my lord
Will live for many years;

That his years will be many (3)

And his reign without end.

WAKI (*nanori*) Now I am an Imperial official serving in the reign of the Emperor Bun of Gi (4). Although my lord is still a young emperor, his compassion for the people exceeds even that of the Three Monarchs and Five Emperors (5). I am now hurrying to Tekken-zan (6) with an Imperial command that, since this is an auspicious reign, all the hermits in the mountains should hasten to the Palace.

WAKI & CHORUS

(WAKI) (*age-uta*) The reign of my lord

Will be a thousand ages

And then eight more;

Will be a thousand ages

And then eight more,

Till pebbles (7) become rocks

O'ergrown with moss.

For untold years his reign will last (8)

And untold ages will follow

One upon the other (9).

Having passed Narumigata

And Tsumori Bay,

I have now come to Tekken-zan;

I have now come to Tekken-zan.

WAKI (*tsuki-serifu*) Having hastened on my way, I have now arrived at

Tekken-zan. I will rest here awhile and seek out the people in this place.

Ha section (1):

TAYŪ (issei) The chrysanthemums which bloom
And bloom again for a thousand years
Are the bounty of the Emperor,
Who will enjoy long life.

(sashi) Although my lord is still a young king,
His compassion for the people
Exceeds even that
Of the Three Monarchs and Five Emperors.
He is a most joyous Prince.

(sage-uta) Some chrysanthemum water
Shall I present to him
And thereby offer him long life.

(age-uta) Whoever drinks this flowery water,
No matter who he be (10),
Gains (11) release from all worldly ills
And, though not clad in many-layered robes,
Unheeding faces winter's winds.
Thus, it is known (12) by all
As a potion of eternal youth.
Having gathered some of this water,
I am on my way to the Palace;
Having gathered some of this water,
I am on my way to the Palace.

Ha section (2):

(mondō)

WAKI A hermit has just appeared. Where have you come from ?

TAYŪ I am on my way to the Palace of the Emperor to present him with a wondrous elixir.

WAKI Oh ! happy tidings, happy news - for hermits leaving their hills and wise men taking office are signs of a peaceful reign. What manner of person are (13) you ?

TAYŪ I was in Imperial service in the reign of the Emperor Boku of Shu (14) and was known as Jidō. Seven hundred years have passed since then (15) and I am now known as Hōso.

WAKI But if you were alive in the time of Shū, how does it come about that you have lived till now ?

TAYŪ The reason is not hard to find. It is because I have drunk of this same chrysanthemum water which I am bringing now.

WAKI Well, then, can anyone preserve his life by drinking this chrysanthemum water ?

TAYŪ Indeed, yes ! Just try it for yourself.

TAYŪ & CHORUS (16)
(CHORUS) (age-uta) Doubt is there none
That this chrysanthemum water from Nanyōken;
That this chrysanthemum water from Nanyōken

Is a potion which keeps man's life intact.
Even after seven hundred years and more
One is as young as ever.
Let the Emperor partake of this,
And his officials, too,
With reverence drink[17].
He who takes this chrysanthemum water
Will meet no grief[18] to mar his joy
But, by breaking the dewy plants
And picking the flowers,
Will turn back the passing years;
Will turn back the number of the passing years[19].

Ha section (3):

WAKI Be so good as to tell me more about how you have thus prolonged your life.

(CHORUS) (?sashi) At the time when Buddha
Was expounding the Lotus Sutra
On Mount Ryōjusen[20], the Emperor Boku,
Attracted by the Law, rode in haste
To the meeting-place on the mountain
And there listened to the Word.
The Buddha then spoke to the Emperor
And, saying 'This law now[21] is for you -
Pass it on to your descendants'.
Taught him a couplet[22] from the Fumonbon.

TAYŪ

Thus the happy tidings
Which come from the Throne
When a new Emperor succeeds,
Began even then, in that far-off age.

(CHORUS) (?kuse)

At this time Jidō was so favoured
With the Emperor's unbounded affection
That when, by mistake,
He stepped across his pillow,
The punishment for the wrong he had done
Was exile to Tekken-zan (23).
This mountain, hundreds of miles
From the capital,
Was beset by wild beasts
With shining fangs
And no man passed there.
Pitying Jidō, the Emperor taught him
The couplet from the Fumombon.
So it was that Jidō,
For fear he would forget the words,
Wrote them on the lower leaves
Of some chrysanthemums which grow
Beside a valley stream
At the foot of Tekken-zan.
Kneeling (24) there from morning till night,
He spent his days reciting the holy words.
The dew which then gathered on the flowers

Added their drops to the waters below
And turned them into an elixir of life.
Since that time Jidō has prolonged his days
By drawing water from the stream.
It is thus a potion to carry life along
For whosoever drinks it.
From Mount Ryōsen (25) the wondrous words
Have come to rest
On the chrysanthemums in Tekken
Where they take the form of a liquid
Miraculously holding back the passing years.
Thus did he speak.
Let our lord, then, drink this chrysanthemum water
And preserve the land by his unending reign.

WAKI Many thanks, many thanks ! The Emperor will be pleased to make his way to Tekken and see this place. Will you not then be his guide ?

TAYŪ That is indeed a small thing to ask. I, Hōso, will go up there into the mountain and, gathering my companions, will prepare some entertainment.

(<u>age-uta</u>) Returning now, I take my leave (26).

(CHORUS) May the years of the Emperor be as many
As chrysanthemum blooms in the Palace grounds,
As the white flowers there which catch the light
Of the stars in the glowing evening sky (27).

By Tekken too white chrysanthemums grow,
And up into the mountain Hōso goes;
And up into the mountain Hōso goes.

Act 2

Kyu section:

(CHORUS) Let our hearts be thanful for
The chrysanthemum waters of this river:
They will protect the purest of all reigns
Here in this world of ours (28).
The sky shall be the symbol
Of our Emperor's reign,
Which will continue undisturbed (29).
There is a mountain called Arashi
And on its peak the maple leaves
Are touched with colour
And the streaming clouds glow red.
The chrysanthemums, too, are so bright in the sun
That the flowers may be washed
By the fragrant water flowing by.
Rejoicing, I draw some from the stream
To offer up to my lord,
That his reign may last a thousand years
And then eight thousand more.
Among the wonders which bring long life

Are the peach flowers of Ōbo[30],
The fruit from the tree of Kōyo[31],
And the thousand-year elixir with the dew
From the leaves of the soaring bamboo.
A potion still more wonderful would result
If all these things were added;
But by this chrysanthemum water I offer up,
The life of the Emperor Bun of Gi
Is already assured for a hundred years.
By drawing this chrysanthemum water of Nanyoken
From the lower reaches of the stream,
I shall prolong the years -
And, with these words, the hermit Hōso
Withdrew into his retreat.

.....

Jisei

'The Two Stars'

The story of the Herdsman and the Weaving Maid, one of the myths and legends which arose from the observation of the stars by the Chinese, is said to have had its beginning in the Chou period, perhaps as long as three thousand years ago. The Ruler of the Heavens, the story goes, had a daughter who, since she worked unceasingly at her loom, was known as the Weaving Maid.

Her father decided that she should marry the Herdsman, who lived on the east bank of the River of Heaven but, once this was done, she no longer applied herself to her loom but beglected her work entirely. Angry at this, her father decreed that she should leave her husband and return to the west bank of the river. Once a year, however, he summoned a raven to span the river with its wings so that she might cross to visit the Herdsman.

The Manyōshū shows that this legend was already current in Japan in the first half of the eighth century, if not earlier, and it has continued to be recognized in various ways up to the present time. In the course of the long history of the story, differences have naturally arisen in matters of detail. One tradition, mentioned in the play below, has it that the Weaving Maid crossed to her lover in a boat of mulberry wood instead of over the outstretched wings of a bird. This has led to the custom, current in Japan from the Heian period, of women and girls writing their wishes on mulberry leaves on the evening of the day of the festival and offering them up to the Maid. This was done especially by women who desired to become skilled at spinning or weaving, but appeals for help in finding a good husband also became common, in spite of the Weaving Maid's own misfortune in marriage.

Characters

Waki.....an Imperial envoy

Tayū (shite) (32).....Tanabata, the Weaving Maid

Tsure .....Hiko-boshi, the Male Star or Herdsman.

Jo section:

WAKI (shidai) While I travel upstream,
On the further reaches of the river;
While I travel upstream,
On the further reaches of the river,
My guide shall be this raft of logs
On which I ride.

WAKI (nanori) Now I am an official serving the emperor of the kingdom of Han in China. Having been ordered by my lord to report on the state of things in the heavens, I am now poling this raft upstream to the headwaters of the river.

CHORUS (WAKI)
(michi-yuki) River and blue sky drift into one,
And rippled clouds float on the stream
As it hurries along on the swelling waters.
When the skies clear, the traveller
Finds himself at a river-beach
He knows not where;
He finds himself at a river-beach
He knows not where.

Ha section (1):

TAYŪ & CHORUS
(TAYŪ & TSURE)(issei) The stars of heaven
Throw down their light upon the man
Who poles the boat
Swiftly to the meeting-place.
(sashi) Remarkable is it that, in the world of men,
The waters flow to the south;
And in the heavens the stars
Revolve around the north (33).
We await (34) the first cry
Of the raven in autumn
With a love that is pledged
For eternity, an everlasting love,
Unchanging as the colour of the pine.
They wait with heads on rocky pillows
Beside the river of heaven,
But time passes all too slowly.

CHORUS (TAYŪ & TSURE)
(age-uta) Even the sight of the waving heads
Of grasses beside the water's edge,
Even the grasses bending before the wind (35)
Tell him that the time has come,
For they are the waves of autumn,
Tinged with red.
At the bridge across the flowing waters,
Surely they will realise that autumn has come

To the trysting place beside the stream;
Surely they will realise that autumn has come
To the trysting place beside the stream.

Ha section (2):

WAKI I have come to an unknown river-beach, and when I look at the scene about me, the people I see here are a man leading an ox and a woman reeling thread.

Who are you, now ?

TAYŪ (mondō) Tanabata and Hiko-boshi are our names.
Though we live apart,
Separated by this river,
The day has come at last
When I see Hiko-boshi
For whom I weave the damask;
For whom I weave the damask.

WAKI Can you be stars, then ?
Wonderful, indeed, to see
Such heavenly joy as this!

TAYŪ Look yonder! The boat of mulberry wood (36)
From the upper waters of the river
Seems to be waiting for the stars to meet;
Seems to be waiting for the stars to meet.

WAKI To be sure, the starry dwellings
Have never before been seen
To shine so brightly.

TAYŪ The five-coloured carriage of clouds

WAKI Rolls on and in the thin mist

TAYŪ Autumn leaves begin to fall
Upon the bridge

WAKI Formed by
The outstretched wings of the raven

TAYŪ Sodden with the water
Which holds the floating clouds.

WAKI The shallows at the crossing-place,

TAYŪ Eight-score inlets -

CHORUS (age-uta) Untold wonders ! wonders untold !
But rarely do the stars here meet,
So seek all there is to know
About the affairs of the heavens
Where you have come,
And when you return to the land of men,
Tell of what you have seen.
(37)
In this way the teaching
That men can enjoy the blessings of heaven
Will indeed be proved true.
The happenings of this autumn day
Will be remembered to the end of time;
The happenings of this autumn day
(38)
Will be remembered to the end of time .

Ha section (3):

(39)
WAKI Be so good now as to favour me further with this

story of the heavens.

SHITE (sashi) Well, then - in China in the land of Kei
Lived two peasants, man and wife,
Whose names were Yūshi and Hakuyō (40).
They would just gaze at the shining moon
And, from the top of a mountain high,
Sadly watch its going down,
So that, throughout the autumn nights,
There would be no rest for them
On their straw mats.

(CHORUS) (?sage-uta) Yūshi is now the Male Star
And Hakuyō the Weaving Maid.

(CHORUS) (age-uta) Was this not because of their obsession
In the previous life ?
Was it not because of their obsession,
Because they gazed out at the moon,
That they were reborn in the heavens
As two stars, the Herdsman
And the Weaving Maid ?
Signs are there still
Of the rustic life they used to lead,
For he who was a herdsman
Leads an ox,
And she, the weaver, works still
At her loom.
For whom is the autumn robe of
Of woven cloth ?

This is the long-awaited night
When the wife of the Male Star
Sews the sleeves and hem
Of the robe she has made for him.
How slowly time passes today;
How slowly time passes till evening !
Rarely do the two stars meet
And, when they come together,
Dawn follows the five watches of the night
Before they finish telling
Of the torment of being parted,
And the cool breeze comes again and again
With its importunate murmur.

(CHORUS) (rongi) The robe she makes
Is the colour of streaming clouds
Interwoven with green -
Such were her words.

(SHITE) In the brocade I weave
The characters for mutual love

(CHORUS) And as she beats the robe
Upon her fulling-block,

(SHITE) She adds to the sound
A lament at separation.

(CHORUS) The wind blowing over the river of heaven
Joins its sound to that of the loom;
The wind blowing over the river of heaven

Joins its sound to that of the loom -
Clackety clack,

(SHITE) Clackety clack,
Goes the darting shuttle,
Its swiftness matched only by the dream
Wherein the floating bridge
Is stretched across the river.
Bring forth the bridge,
And on with the robe of spun cloud
Woven by hands that peep
From damask sleeves.

Kyū section:

(SHITE) Evening with its pale moon has come,
When time slips fast away;

(CHORUS) Evening with its pale moon has come,
When time slips fast away
And the wings of the raven
Stretch above the dancing waves
To form a wondrous bridge.
The raven was tended by these stars
In a former life and so
It spreads its grateful wings (41)

(SHITE) To allow the two stars to cross.

(CHORUS for WAKI) So they come together,
And unwillingly I must return.

(SHITE) To the loom, now ! to the loom !
And finish off the weaving.

(CHORUS) I will show this man still more,
The Weaving Maid says,
And pays out lengths of thread
From the reel she holds.
What is it that she weaves ?
Threads of five colours,
Blue, yellow, red, white,and black,
Are enmeshed together
And from them come the hues
Of the lotus flower,
Shot with sunlight and moonbeams (42)
Which steal from the unseeing darkness
Of night's brocade.
The weaving (43) now accomplished
With results as joyous
As the understanding of the Holy Word,
With such joyous understanding,
The envoy sets out on his return
To the Imperial capital.

Notes To Appendix 3

1. Bk.13 'Ryūme shinsō no koto', Yūhōdō bunko ed. vol.28, 384-6.
2. The character known as Jidō has survived in Nō as a distinct role and a mask representing a young boy. This, and the fact that the Taihei-ki states that Jidō was a child, suggest the possibility that the characters 慈童 (or, at times 士童), with which the name is written, are ateji for 兒童 or 侍童 and that they came into use as a proper name in order to make someone referred to in a story merely as a 'child' or 'page' into a character more individual and, therefore, more interesting.
3. This line and the preceding one are the same in the original.
4. Wen-ti, the first emperor of Wei, who ruled 220-6.
5. The earliest rulers of China in legendary times. There are various opinions about their identity, but there seems to be agreement that the last two were Yao and Shun.
6. T'ieh-chien-shan, the Iron Sword Mountain. The Nihon kayō shūsei text used for the translation has this reading in kana against characters normally read Reiken-zan or Rekken-zan (Li-hsien-shan). This seems to be a compromise by Takano between the Tekken-zan given in the text in his Kabu ongyoku kōsetsu and the Rekken-zan in his Nihon kayō-shi. Kindred Sarugaku texts vary between the two names. There are similar discrepancies in texts with the later mentions of Tekken below.

7. The Nihon kayō-shi reading of sare-ishi, instead of sazare-ishi, would give the same meaning and introduce another one by a kake-kotoba (yachiYO o SARE-ishi), but it may be due to nothing more than a printer's error. The lines in which the words come are almost identical to the poem which, soon after the Meiji Restoration, was taken as the words of the national anthem (see Izumoji, Kogaku no shinzui 168-223 on this).

8. iku-tose ni NARUmigata.

9. iku-yo TSUMORI-no-ura.

10. This line and the preceding one are identical in the original.

11. shubyō-shitsjo no TOKU o nashi.

12. tare mo kaku koso KIKU no mizu.

13. The text has kata-gata which is given in dictionaries only as a plural pronoun. The main actor in this play is most unlikely ever to have been accompanied by a tsure, however, and it seems that the word must also have been used when speaking to a single person, perhaps to show some degree of respect.

14. Mu Wang, fifth sovereign of the Chou dynasty, who succeeded in 1001 B.C. and died in 946 B.C.

15. If Jidō had served Mu Wang and lived until the time of Wen-ti, it would have been a period of about twelve hundred years.

16. utagai mo NAnyōken.

17. shin mo agamete KIKU no mizu.

18. The text gives urei wa naku wasure-mizu, but the 1686 Kiku

Jidō text has urei wa nagaku wasure-mizu. The latter seems preferable both from the point of view of meaning ('the sadness /of approaching death/ would be forgotten for many a year') and because nagaku then provides an introduction for wasure(-mizu).

19. According to Takano, the part up to here was used as a 'half Nō'.

20. The mountain in Behar State, India, where the Buddha did much of his teaching.

21. Ima kono nori wa; but Ima toku nori wa 'The law I now expound', as found in the 1686 Kiku Jidō text, seems preferable.

22. Ni-ku no ge. Ge (Sans. gāthā) are short verses, usually of four lines, occurring in sutra. The quotation from the Fumombon is given in the 1688 text of Makura Jidō and some later versions and reads, in translation: 'Provided with all virtue, /the Buddha/ looks at mankind with compassionate gaze, across a boundless sea of happiness; therefore shall we pay him homage.'

23. That is, instead of the usual punishment of death.

24. Mukaite, literally 'facing', presumably in the sense of 'facing with reverence' as in muka-busu. The Taihei-ki passage has jippō o ichirei shite 'making obeisance in the Ten Directions'.

25. A shortened form of Ryōjusen.

26. The 1686 text of Kiku Jidō repeats this line, as is usual

with the first complete ku of an age-uta.

27. These lines are based on a poem by Toshiyuki Ason in the Kokinshū (Kokka taikan no.269): Hisakata no Kumo no ue nite Miru kiku wa Amatsu-hoshi to zo Ayamatarekeru 'The chrysanthemums in the grounds of the Imperial palace looked for all the world like stars from heaven'.

28. There are several points to be noted about the phrase kasui sumeru yo no nigoranu mi-yo: (1) kasui may be either 下水 'the lower waters', as in the text, or 河水 'the waters of the river'. The second alternative would seem preferable were it not that the word karyū 'the lower reaches of the stream' is mentioned in the last lines of the play. (2) kasui sumeru would at first be taken to mean 'the waters of the river grow pure'. (3) sumeru yo 'the pure reign' combines with the following nigoranu mi-yo to give a meaning something like 'this purest of all reigns. There is antithesis here in the use of sumeru 'become pure' and nigoru 'be muddy, dirty'. (4) Another possible meaning of sumeru yo is 'the world in which we live' but, in the context, this would probably have only a secondary force.

29. oto wa ARASHI (ARAJI) no yama.

30. Sei-ōbo (Hsi Wang Mu), a lady who, in Chinese legend, has a peach tree which blooms and fruits only once in three thousand years. A peach from this tree brings long life to anyone who eats it. (See the Nō play Sei-ōbo).

31. The text seems corrupt at this point and a short phrase in

the original has been ignored.

32. The text mentions only a tayū, waki, and chorus, but from internal evidence and the example of Tanabata it seems clear that a tsure must also have appeared. In both Kikusui and this play the waki would now normally appear with two waki-zure but, in practice, their function consists of little more than singing some parts with the waki.

33. The Pi Yen Lu (Hekiganroku), a Chinese work by Yüan Wu Ch'an Shih (Engo Zenshi) says, 'In the heavens the stars all bow to the north; in the world of men the waters all flow to the east.' The alteration of 'east' to 'north' (which also occurs in the same phrase in the Nō play Tenko) was perhaps made so that the reference would be more appropriate to Japan, where the rivers run mainly from north to south.

34. aki o MATSUkage.

35. This and the previous two lines are one identical line repeated in the original.

36. There is a play here on two meanings of kaji, 'oar' and 'mulberry wood'.

37. The text has 都 miyako here, but this makes no sense. As it seems likely that this resulted from a misreading of the character 教 oshie, perhaps in its cursive form, which is the one given in the Tanabata text, this version has been followed.

38. According to Takano, the part up to here was used as a 'half Nō'.

39. Following the indication in the text given in the Kabu ongyoku kōsetsu. The text given in the Nihon kayō shūsei attributes this part to the chorus but, as it is a spoken passage, this must be a mistake.

40. The Aro kassen monogatari, a work of the Muromachi period, says: 'It is said that, in olden times, there lived a man called Yūshi and a woman known as Hakuyō. They married when he was sixteen and she was twelve, and their enjoyment of the moon together knew no bounds. Yūshi grieved deeply when Hakuyō died at the age of ninety-nine, but gazed at the moon and remembered her until he himself died when he was one hundred and three. The two of them then turned into stars and dwelt up in the heavens.'

41. The last four lines do not appear in the text as given in the Kabu ongyoku kōsetsu.

42. kakurenu TSUKI no miyako.

43. There is a play here on nishiki which may mean (1) 錦 'brocade' or (2) 耳識 'understanding by hearing'.

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